THE 1918 RED INSURRECTION IN FINLAND

35 CENTS

HENNING SODERHJELM

FOREWORD BY P.D OUSPENSKY

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JOURNAL PRESS CO., LIMITED
PROTON CIRCUIT. VIRICONIUM.

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TRANSLATION
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HELSINKI * LONDON

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents
- Foreword
- The Concise History
- Acknowledgements
- Maps
- Photos
- Introduction

The Prelude
- 1. The Historical Background
  - 2. From the Outbreak of the War to the Russian Revolution
  - 3. The March Revolution in Russia and the Position of Finland
  - 4. Occurrences of the Autumn and Winter

The Insurrection
- 1. Red And White: General Characteristics
- 2. The Outbreak of the Insurrection
- 3. The Red Army
- 4. The Leadership of the Red
- 5. The Red and Their Opponents
- 6. The Fall of the Red Power
- 7. Postscript

End

Foreword

From 1907 until 1913 Peter D. Ouspensky wrote fairly regularly for a Russian newspaper, mostly on foreign affairs. At the same time he was working on various books unconnected with current events.

In 1917 while revolution was spreading through all the Russias, and the Bolsheviks were establishing their reign of terror, Ouspensky was living in various temporary quarters in South Russia, in conditions of great danger and hardship. He and those around him were completely cut off from the outside world, constantly on the alert to avoid being picked up and murdered by the Bolsheviks.

In 1919 Ouspensky found a way to send a series of articles in the form of "letters to a friend" to the New Age, a literary, artistic and cultural weekly paper published in England. These five letters appeared in six installments as "Letters from Russia." They give a detached but horrific description of the total breakdown of public order.

A remarkable feature of the "Letters" is that while the revolution was in progress and the Bolshevik regime not fully established, Ouspensky foresaw with unusual clarity the inevitability of the tyranny described by Solzhenitsyn fifty years later.

Letter Four of Five

The New Age:
P.D. Ouspensky
Ekaterinodar
Autumn, 1919

https://archive.org/details/letters-from-russia

My friend proved to be a true prophet. Very soon "sharing in the plunder for the whole time it had been going on" became the leading principle of Bolshevism.

Meanwhile - i.e., Autumn, 1917 - the actual traits of Bolshevism began to reveal themselves. They form the very essence of the movement, and their application consisted in a struggle against culture, against the "intelligentsia," against freedom of any kind. People now began to realize the true meaning of Bolshevism; they began to lose the illusions which led them to confuse Bolshevism with a socialistic and revolutionary movement. These illusions, which we have lost, seem now to prevail among yourselves. Persons inclined to abstract modes of thinking persist in seeing in Bolshevism not what it actually is, but what it ought to be according to their theoretical deductions. These people will have a very sad awakening, and this awakening is not "beyond the mountains," as the Russian proverb says.

The causes of the success of Bolshevism in Russia, which came as a surprise to the Bolsheviks themselves, can be found in the complete destruction of the economical bases of Russian life brought about by the war, in the incredibly mixed political views prevailing among the Russian intelligentsia, varying between patriotic chauvinism and anarchical pacifism, and chiefly in the instability of Russian political thought and the purely theoretical and demagogic character of the chief Russian political parties and tendencies.

There was no party created by reality and resulting from actual existing conditions. All that was opposed to Bolshevism consisted of theories alone, theories and phrases very often the same as those employed by the Bolsheviks themselves.

The Bolsheviks knew what they were aiming at; nobody else knew. This is the reason for their success.

Of course, their success is only temporary, as, generally speaking, nobody can be a Bolshevik for ever. It is a sickness from which

people either recover or, if its germs have entered too deeply into the organism, they die.

Lately the comparison of Bolshevism with disease has become common. This is not sufficiently true.

Bolshevism is not only a disease; it is death, and a very quick death, or it is not real Bolshevism.

Bolshevism in general is a catastrophe, a shipwreck.

This is what you do not realize, and you will be able to realize it only when you learn our history of the last three years.

All the political tendencies which existed before the Revolution may be divided into four groups.

The First Group was the monarchical.

This is the group that supported the Government. It consisted of people who sympathized with the Government partly on grounds of principle, partly on those of personal interest. Theoretically, they desired a return to autocracy, but actually their wish was only to recover and retain their privileged position. These people did not form a strict political party. The latter was formed by various organizations of nobles and political groups like the "Union of the Russian People" or the "Union of Archangel Michael." Their programs and tactics were very limited, and consisted chiefly in petitioning for and obtaining from the Government special grants and in the organization of Jewish pogroms.

The Second Group was formed by the "Octobrists."

This party emerged from the Revolution of 1905, and its official aim was the realization of the principles included in the Emperor's Manifesto of October 17, in which Russia was promised all sorts of freedoms. The actual activity of this group was the struggle against any such realization. This party was formed by wealthy bourgeois

and members of the bureaucracy or of the intelligentsia who liked liberal sentiments without wishing to break away from the Government. A well known anecdote relates how the Emperor Nicholas II, wishing to be very agreeable to somebody, said: "I am the first Octobrist in Russia." The comment made on it was "that was because he had signed the Manifesto but had not carried it out."

The Third Group embraced the so-called "Cadets."

The word being a combination of the first letters of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. Its program was too theoretic; its origin was to be found in the political clubs gathered round Moscow University. They wanted to remain "legal," and therefore did not publicly declare their real republican and socialistic tendencies. Its vital element was constituted by the members of the former Zemsky Sojous, who joined the party some time after its constitution. But they were bound by the program of their party, whose principle had more platform significance than anything else - e.g., universal suffrage on the principle of the direct, secret, and equal ballot.

If the Octobrists were insincere in one way, the Cadets were in another way, and both were equally different from what they professed to be. They were hampered by the controversial character of several points in their program and a certain "party discipline." Many of its members were highly respectable, esteemed, and energetic men, who formed a group somewhat outside the party proper. They were completely lost among the rank and file of the party, and the mass of the most important members who had actual vital political experience, who knew the country and the people, never played any leading role in the party. The lead was usually taken by theorists of the professional and barrister class. All this deprived the party of strength and actual value. Its left wing was too closely connected with the socialistic parties to be of real vitality and energy.

The Fourth Group comprised all the Socialists.

In the fourth group, we can include all the socialistic parties, working on ready-made plans and differing very little from their colleagues abroad. Their division into different groups brought into prominence two chief divergent groups: the "Social-Revolutionaries" basing themselves chiefly on their "agrarian policy," and the "Social-Democrats" - orthodox Marxists. The latter party was itself subdivided into two groups those who advocated the "minimum" program, the Mensheviks, and those advocating the "maximum" program - the Bolsheviks. The most vital tendencies in the socialistic parties were the former "Narodniki," united to a certain extent with the Social-Revolutionaries, or the Narodnyie-Socialists (Socialists of the People), who were of a less extreme tendency. Their success was hampered, however, by the socialistic ballast of their programs.

The Revolution provoking the fall of the old regime brought to a natural end the activity of the Monarchists and Octobrists as political parties. There remained the "Cadets," who now openly embraced the republican faith, and the different kinds of Socialists.

Neither the "Cadets" nor the Socialists were in a position to offer effective resistance against the activities of the Bolsheviks. The different groups of Socialists, however loudly they protested against the means used by the Bolsheviks, did not cease to regard them as part of their own political group. They addressed them as "comrades" and found it possible to discuss terms of agreement with them. The attempts to arrive at real agreements were, of course, doomed to failure, for every agreement requires a certain amount of honesty or seriousness from both sides. But Bolsheviks never considered these agreements with seriousness. The chief aim of their game was to gain time and their chief object to obtain power. The rest of the Socialists did not venture to protest strongly enough or actively oppose people who repeated their own phrases about the labor system, about the struggle with capitalism, and the victory of the proletariat, The "comrade-Bolsheviks" only laughed at the sentimentality of the "comrade-Socialists," and using them as blind tools for their purposes worked for their aims and achieved what they wanted.

This was the extraordinary period of a "comrade-Premier" and Commander-in-Chief, the barrister Kerensky. The "Cadets" tried to save the last remnants of common sense, but found it impossible to work in common with the Socialists. The Socialists, on the other hand, were ready for an agreement with the Bolsheviks.

The road to the victory of Bolshevism lay open. Only after two years of humiliation and suffering has Russia succeeded in organizing a Center which does not consider it possible to compromise with Bolshevism.

This Center is for the present at the place where I am now writing, the headquarters of the Volunteer Army.

You surely do not know what this Volunteer Army really is. Its now enormous organization has developed out of a little detachment of 3,000 men who in February 1918, began their struggle under the leadership of General Kornilov. The legendary expedition of this detachment which came to an end at the death of General Kornilov near Ekaterinodar on March 31, 1918, laid the foundation of the struggle with Bolshevism. It is described in a book written by A. A. Savorine under the title *The Kornilov Expedition*. It is almost the only book published in Russia during the last two years. In a later letter I hope to summarize its contents and to describe the origin of the Volunteer Army, whose history is also the history of the most recent years of Russia.

Even now it would be possible to fill many pages with an analysis of Volunteer activity. In many cases its energies are too much directed towards the restoration of the bad features of the old regime and developing them to a degree worse than they have ever been before. On the other hand, it is in many ways much too tolerant of events which are the heritage of the Provisional Government and the Bolshevik rule.

Only the future can show what is to be the result of all this. At present one thing is of importance. The Volunteer Army is fighting the Bolsheviks and struggling for a united Russia. Accordingly,

Russia and the Volunteer Army are now one and the same thing. Speaking of Russia you speak of the Volunteer Army and vice versa.

But during the first six or nine months of the Revolution no such Center existed. Russia was then represented by Bolshevism "made in Germany," united with the "real Russian" profiteering, and fostered by the absurd idealism of the intelligentsia who quoted the text "*Do not overcome evil by evil*." In face of the weakness of the intelligentsia, Bolshevism very soon showed its real face. It began openly to wage war on culture, to destroy all cultural values, and to annihilate the intelligentsia as the representative of culture. The "Nihilism" of former times was already well acquainted with contempt for culture, as if the only valuable results of the progress of humanity were high explosives.

Bolshevism developed this idea to the utmost. Everything that did not help or foster the production of bombs was declared to be valueless, "bourgeois," and deserving only of destruction and contempt. This point of view was very acceptable to the imagination of the proletarians. The workmen were at once made equals with the intelligentsia, and were even declared superior to it. Everything in which they differed from the intelligentsia was now proclaimed unnecessary and even hostile to the interests of the people and the idea of freedom. The leaders of Bolshevism openly professed that all that they asked of culture was the means of fighting the bourgeoisie and to obtain power for the proletariat. Science, arts, literature, were put under suspicion and were handed over to the watchful control of illiterate bodies of workmen. The newspapers underwent a treatment which the chiefs of the gendarmes of Nicholas I never dreamt of. From the moment the Bolsheviks seized power, all newspapers were shut down. Their place was taken by official or semi-official illiterate Bolshevik *Tsvtias* (News) or *Pravdas* (Truth). In indescribable forms these papers praised the Soviet power and poured out contempt on the "bourgeoisie." An unofficial paper (socialistic, of course) was allowed to be printed on condition that it formally supported Bolshevism, - "recognized the Soviet power" was the official expression. This meant the recognition of this power as democratic

and the best in the world. It involved also the necessity of expressing the loyalty of the paper by publishing defamations and denouncements of the "bourgeoisie" and by vile criticism of everything that was not immediately connected with Bolshevism or the Soviets. With the object of preserving the papers from any other kind of influence they were subjected to the control of the workmen of the office where the paper was printed.

Their representatives formed the majority of the "editorial body," which was empowered to dismiss old members of the staff, to appoint new ones, and generally to control the editorial administration. Even the most tolerant and unpretentious journalists had to cease their work, and very soon every journal became the prey of self-seeking people without knowledge of any kind of journalistic work.

Officially the struggle was directed against the "bourgeoisie." But this term in its Bolshevik interpretation embraced the whole of the intelligentsia. All persons belonging to the professions, professors, artists, doctors, engineers, and generally all specialists were proclaimed bourgeois indiscriminately and subjected to the control of their own workmen and servants. In a way their position was worse than that of the journalists.

The latter were left alone, but doctors, engineers, and civil servants were forced to work under the most incredible conditions. Workmen and guards controlled their engineers; doctors were superseded by councils of patients and porters. This is not a joke - it is real life and obtains at this moment in Soviet Russia. In the spring of 1919, notwithstanding the difficulties created by Bolshevism and the Soviets, the doctors of Soviet Russia assembled in the yearly "Girogov" meeting held in honor of the late well-known surgeon, Girogov.

The evidence collected on that occasion showed that the doctors were quite helpless in combating epidemics owing to the control exercised over them by medical attendants who filled all the responsible offices.

War on the intelligentsia was inevitable on the part of Bolshevism. The intelligentsia could not be deceived for long. It would soon have discovered the underlying lies of Bolshevism. To render the intelligentsia harmless, to prevent its explaining the truth to the people, it was proclaimed bourgeois, its members declared outlaws, and purposely confused with the bourgeois against whom the struggle was originally directed. This was logically inevitable. The intelligentsia, being inclined, generally speaking, to believe in revolutionary phrases, would have otherwise joined Bolshevism and driven it to another line of development. It would have insisted on meeting the debts to which Bolshevism had attached its signature without dreaming of paying anything. In other words, the intelligentsia would have insisted on the fulfillment of the promises given by the Bolsheviks to the people, which the Bolsheviks themselves consider only as a bait thrown to make fishing easier. Had the intelligentsia not been so decidedly denied participation in the Revolution it would have spoiled the game of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks would never have been able to humiliate Russia to the degree they have. The appropriateness of their measures - i.e., the ostracism of the intelligentsia - is so striking that it involuntarily evokes the thought of a German invention, so well did it fit the purpose of the new Bolshevik state.

As a general rule, Bolshevism based itself on the worst forces underlying Russian life. How far they have succeeded in bringing those forces into existence is a question with which I will deal separately. The provocation of the feelings of the people against the intelligentsia was a thing more easy to achieve in Russia than anywhere else, for the Russian "people" are as a rule suspicious of every "gentleman." In Russia all epidemics of cholera are always connected with rumors of doctors poisoning wells or their patients in the hospitals and are usually followed by pogroms of doctors.

A special aspect of Bolshevism has not yet been sufficiently insisted on. I mean the participation in it of decidedly criminal elements. In former days the population of Russian prisons used to be divided into two classes, the minority of "comrade-politicals" and the vast

majority of "comrade-criminals." I think that nobody of the "comrade-political" ever dreamt that the leading part in the Revolution would be played by the "comrade-criminals." But this is the truth. The future historian will have to think out a new definition for the Soviet power: some new word showing the prominent part played by the criminal element, something like "kakourgocracy" or "paranomocracy." Henry George said in Progress and Poverty that our civilization does not require any foreign barbarians for its destruction. It carries in its very bosom the barbarians who will destroy it. Bolshevism consists just in the organization and gathering of these barbarian forces existing inside contemporary society, hostile to culture and civilization.

This is a vital point which you miss when you are speaking of Bolshevism in England. You will realize it only when it is too late.

The Concise History of the Red Insurrection

This conflict, which lasted from around 21 January to 15 May 1918, was closely entwined with the events of the emergent Russian Civil War and was remarkable for the fact that more combatants and civilians perished in it as a consequence of political terror than died in action. The war was fought between forces of the Social Democratic Party of Finland and supportive of the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic (usually referred to as the "Reds" or "Red Finns") and loyalist forces (usually termed the "Whites" or the "White Finns"). The former received moral support and material aid from Soviet Russia; the latter received armed assistance from Germany.

The war had its roots in the collapse of order in the former Grand Duchy of Finland following the February Russian Revolution and the organization of contending Red Guards and White Finns units on the streets, as the now autonomous Finnish Senate remained deadlocked between various factions. The country was also experiencing unprecedented cultural tensions, as a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization before and during the First World War was followed by post-war economic collapse in 1917, with attendant food shortages and a surge in unemployment and proletarian strikes. Following new parliamentary elections in October 1917, loyalist parliamentarians took control of the Diet, followed by Red strikes in November (during which V.I. Lenin urged the Finnish Social Democratic Party to illegally seize power). This led to numerous armed clashes in the towns and cities of southern Finland and served as the prelude to a full-scale civil war. Meanwhile, on 6 December 1917, the Senate (led by Pehr Evind Svinhufvud) proposed declaring Finnish independence in order to minimize interference in Finland by Lenin's Soviet Russia. Finnish independence was recognized by Sovnarkom (Lenin's Council of People's Commissars) on 18 December 1917, with the hopeful but

unrealistic expectation that the Finnish Social Democrat Party would soon seize power.

Tensions deepened in January 1918, as the White Guards, now commanded by the former tsarist officer C.G.E. Mannerheim, were incorporated into a new Finnish White Army, based at Vaasa on the Gulf of Bothnia. The Red Guards, initially commanded by Ali Aaltonen (and subsequently by Eero Haapalainen, Eino Rahja, and Kullervo Manner) and based at Helsinki, refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new democratic force. Clashes occurred around Viipuri (Vyborg), in Karelia, on 17–20 January 1918, although the White order to engage was only issued on 25 January, and the Reds' "Order of Revolution" was issued on 26 January, thereby complicating the recognized starting date of the war.

Initially, the front ran in a line from just north of Pori and Tampere and Kouvola and Viipuri through Karelia to the Russian border. The Reds controlled the more industrialized and prosperous south and the Whites the poorer agricultural north. Most fighting took place in the following weeks along the railways, with the Reds' prime objective being to cut the Whites' east–west rail connection, which they attempted to do north of Tampere during the Battle of Vilppula. Estimates of the number of forces serving on each side vary, but figures of around 50,000 during the early stages of the war to more than 90,000 at its peak are often cited. The Red army were mostly from the southern industrial urban laboring classes and Russia; the White army was numerically dominated by conscripted Finns of the lower classes including rural crofters, smallholders, independent farmers and bolstered by members of the middle classes. The rural poor mostly accepted mobilization as a means to survive during a period of economic chaos, though many also feared that the Red Finns would abandon Finnish independence and unite with Bolshevik Russia. (Finland had been subjected to increasingly intense Russification of its administration since the 1890s, and anti-Russian feeling was running high through all classes and castes.)

Soviet interference in the conflict was moderately significant; there were more than 60,000 Russian forces in Finland at the outbreak of the war, some 7,000 Bolshevik marines, sailors and infantry troops joined the Red Finns, while the others declined involvement. By early April 1918 those that opted not to fight began to return home. Additionally, Article IV of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of 3 March 1918 obliged Soviet Russia to withdraw its troops from Finland and to cease social agitation, press propaganda and interference within the country - a provision largely ignored by V.I. Lenin and his Bolshevik forces. It is also worth noting that, as Finns had been exempt from conscription into the tsarist army, there were no Bolshevized *frontoviki* returning home to add blooded combat efficiency to the Red cause. In contrast, the Whites employed former tsarist officers as well as Swedish officer volunteers and troops. The above mentioned were augmented by the 1,300 man Finnish 27th Jäger force that had been trained in Germany and formed the veteran core of the White Finns and facilitated the training of recent conscripts.

Once peace terms had been secured with Soviet Russia, Germany aided the White Finns. On 5 March 1918, two days after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a German naval squadron landed on the Åland Islands; on 3 April 1918, the 10,000-strong Baltic Sea Division led by Rüdiger von der Goltz landed west of Helsinki at Hangö (Hanko); and on 7 April 1918 the 3,000-strong Brandenstein Detachment landed on the southeast coast and overran the town of Loviisa. German forces then closed on Helsinki, which fell on 12–13 April 1918, before moving north to capture Hyvinkää and Riihimäki on 21–22 April, followed by Hämeenlinna on 26 April 1918. In these circumstances, ill-disciplined Russian frontoviki, and poorly trained and led Red Finns suffered a series of crushing defeats by the Whites, notably surrendering Tampere, following bloody street battles in and around that city from 28 March to 6 April 1918, and Viipuri on 29 April 1918. Most of the Red Finns' leadership (the People’s Delegation of Finland) had fled Helsinki on 25 April, making their way to Petrograd via Viipuri, while the now abandoned and largely leaderless Red forces retreated into southwest Finland, where their last strongholds fell by 5 May 1918. Other Red enclaves

in Karelia fell by 14–15 May, leading to the White Finns celebrating their victory with a parade in Helsinki on 16 May 1918.

According to figures produced by the Finnish National Archives, during the course of the war 5,199 Reds and 3,414 Whites were killed in action, 7,370 Reds and 1,424 Whites were executed, and 11,652 Reds died in prison camps (the Reds maintained no formal prisoner of war camps.) The very large number of casualties that fell victim to Red political terror or to neglect in White prison camps in the months following the war created a legacy of bitterness and division in Finnish society that took many years to mend.

Acknowledgement

The following account was written at the suggestion of persons who have been in close touch with the events. While I was doing service in one of the offices established for winding up the affairs of the insurrection, I was enabled to carry out this task, and obtain an insight into all the documents hitherto brought to light, through the friendly assistance of Senator A. Frey and the courtesy of the chiefs and the staff. For this I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments.

Lars Henning Söderhjelm

Maps

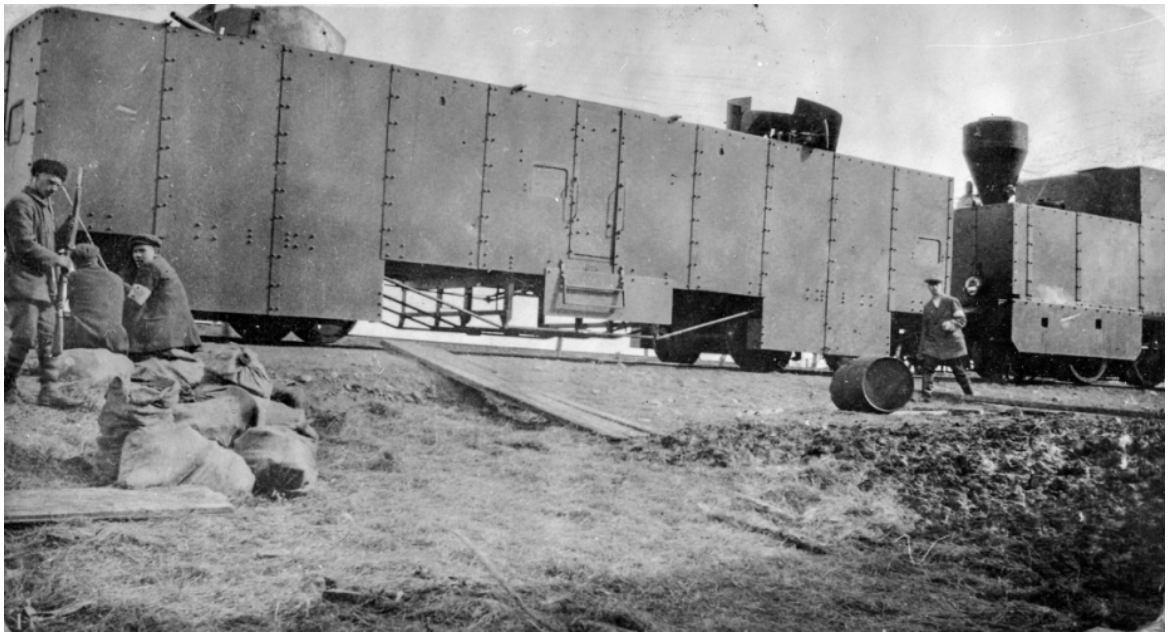
SWEDEN
Tornio
Frontline March 1918
Major battles
Oulu
Vaasa
WHITE FINLAND
Joensuu
Varkaus
Sortavala
Mikkeli
Tampere
Pori
Lake Ladoga
Kouvola
Lappeenranta
Hämeenlinna
Lahti
Vyborg
Rautu
Turku
Kotka
Loviisa
Åland Islands
Helsinki
Hanko
Petrograd
0
100
200 km
SOVIET RUSSIA
ESTONIA

Photos

Kyttala district burning during Battle of Tampere.

Kyttala district destroyed after Battle of Tampere.

Whites' field kitchen in Leinola after Tampere 19 April 1918.



Soviet Russian armored train captured by the Whites after the fall of Tampere.

White victory parade.

Memorial service at Tampere Central Square 30 March 1917.

http://www.militaria.fi/

https://www.flickr.com/photos/vapriikki/

Women prisoners in the Kalevankangas prison camp in Tampere 1918

White Machine Gun Company in Leinola after the capture of Tampere 19-4-1918 III Machine Gun Company of the Central Ostrobothnia Reserve Battalion

Imprisoned Reds in Tampere location is Hämeenkatu 25

Innocent child killed on the street during the Battle of Tampere.
Finnish Civil War 1918 by photographer Oscar Sundberg.

Introduction

On the 27th January, 1918, "Finland's Working-men's Executive Committee" announced that Finland's workingmen had proceeded to revolution, that the lawful government had been overthrown, and that all power in Finland had now passed over to the organized workingmen and their revolutionary organs.

Hereby the civil war was declared which was to ravage Finland's soil and demand such painful sacrifices. The revolutionaries — the "Red Finns" — and their Russian-Bolshevik allies succeeded in taking possession of the southern parts of the country and the largest cities here. But in the north the loyal citizens — the loyalist or "Whites" — took up arms to free the country from the rebels. They cleared the whole of North Finland and marched towards the south. A long front was formed, beginning at the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, running in a wide sweep round Tampere and on to the east, going on the south side of Mikkeli to the river Vuoksen, and ending south of the latter's outfall in lake Ladoga by the Finnish-Russian frontier. It was not, however, until the middle of March that the "White" army was ready to proceed to a serious offensive, and by the first days of April, with the assistance of volunteers from Sweden, it had broken up the main forces of the "Red Guard" and conquered Tampere. At the same time a German relief expedition, called in by the Finnish Government, landed at Hanko, and after a quick advance took the capital, Helsinki. Now defeat followed upon defeat for the Red Army, and at the beginning of May the insurrection was definitely subdued. The leaders of the revolutionaries had fled to Russia, and more than 70,000 men of their army had been captured by the victors. The most ignominious and bloodiest episode in the history of Finland was hereby closed.

What was the meaning of this revolution and this insurrection? What were its wishes, what its aims, and what caused it? These questions will be quite briefly answered in the present little volume. Any

complete statement cannot, of course, as yet be given, and least of all can there be any attempt at an historical account of the war. But it has seemed necessary already now to give interested people abroad a description of the psychology of the movement based upon reliable documents — and exclusively on such. This is attained partly by examining the causes of the revolution and the preparations for it, and partly by acquainting oneself with the conception of the "Red" themselves as it is revealed in the accounts and evidence in their papers, of which a great deal have fortunately been found which are of invaluable benefit for the history of the insurrection.

The Prelude

1. The Historical Background

For the last twenty years Finland has lived under politically abnormal conditions. For twenty years an intense struggle against Russian oppression has set its Stamp on the whole spiritual existence of the people. At the same time the material conditions of life have run through a rapid development for great portions of the people. The last decades have seen industrialism making more and more headway into a people which before may be said to have virtually consisted of farmers and Grand Duchy Government functionaries only. Towns and manufacturing centers have grown with American swiftness, the city population has been increased chiefly by influx from the country, the housing question has become pressing, the labor movement has grown like an avalanche. Social as well as political conditions have thrown the country off its balance.

Finland is sparsely populated, her soil yields but grudgingly, her climate is cold. The character of her people bears the impression of these harsh conditions. Dogged, tenacious, stubborn, the Finn has accustomed himself to fight a troublesome, slow and silent battle against the hard forces of Nature. He has few neighbors, and has learnt to trust to himself alone. His thoughts revolve round his own toil and trouble, and find their expression in the necessary action, not in sociable words. He is a hermit, and his emotions are of a strong and primitive order. He lives for himself only, and is an out-and-out individualist.

The stranger is to him a stranger, therefore suspect and dangerous. If anyone does him an injury, it burns deeper and deeper into his heart and grows into a dark hatred of the perpetrator. He lacks the power of firing up and then forgetting, for his character is that of the solitary and heavy brooder. He is not used to discipline and quick obedience. He must have a firm confidence in and an absolute affection for his leaders to submit to them; but if so, he does it fully. He is a primitive individualist who does his work after his own mind,

and only subordinates himself to the claims of society when he is absolutely convinced that it must be.

The consequence of this is that every universal effort, in order to gain a sure footing in a people thus constituted, and in order to spread and grow, must have the character of something sacred, of a religion. It must rank above every-day claims of utility, must be charged with matter of such a high spiritual kind that it has power to break through the craving for seclusion and through individualism and lead to a higher order of concord; it must create a sympathy closely akin to fanaticism. Those sort of spiritual movements are known expressly to Finland from rich experience. There have, of course, been many purely religious movements, but when the Finnish National Movement, the endeavor to raise the Finnish language to a culture-language from having been merely a vernacular of the common people, came into being in the middle of the nineteenth century, this also assumed an almost religious character. This justifiable and very natural movement grew to such enormous proportions for the very reason that it was raised to the rank of a religion. Its purpose was a twofold one, viz., to combat the predomination of the Swedish language, and to raise the level of education among the Finnish-speaking element of the people. In both directions it has often found fanatical expression, and as the negative results thereof we find, on the one hand, an often bitter conflict between the languages; on the other hand, a worship of theoretical education, of studies and theoretical knowledge which has drawn too sharp a distinction between the "educated" classes, to which the "student examination" for admittance to the university is the only stepping-stone, and the "uneducated," and those who have no academical education.

Another spiritual movement which has assumed the character of a religion — or perhaps rather of an epidemic — is the temperance movement. It has had the result: entire prohibition of alcohol for the whole country just because the whole people was stirred up and had the alcohol question presented to them in the light of a sacred cause and not as a difficult problem. In the same way the fight for the co-

operative movement has been stamped by a similar holy ardor, where there has been no talk of reason or sense, but only of friend or foe.

It is obvious that a people that is thus constituted ought to live in peace. It will then be able to assert its fine qualities. It will then be able by its tenacity, its perseverance, its stubbornness, to create great and enduring things. But when once it is stirred, when one after another of the sacred claims knock at its doors, it rests with leaders, stump orators, lecturers and the press, whether this people shall be urged towards the good or the bad. Twenty years ago there was one cause which really forced the whole nation to fight, the cause against the unlawful measures adopted for the Russification of the country. And the people proved itself capable of resistance. In spite of every attempt denationalization made no progress. A stubborn and tenacious resistance was offered against the Russian work of destruction, a defense was made which will always show as an honorable leaf in the history of Finland. The national defense was organized with one single end in view — the firm adherence to the laws of the country, the refusal to submit to the Russian decrees. It was the method of passive resistance, a loyal, quick and "Western" method. But the severer Russian pressure became, and the more the bitterness and hatred against Russian officialdom grew, the more easily could a more active, a more violent policy of opposition gain partisans in Finland.

Russian autocracy was the enemy not only of Finland, but of the Russian people as well. And the methods employed from olden times by the Russian revolutionaries were anything but passive. Then, was it not necessary to join forces against the common foe? Should not the Russian militant methods be employed in Finland too? The answer was both yes and no. The enemy was common to both, and from this it followed that the Russian revolutionaries were regarded with sympathy in Finland and aided when in distress. But the end aimed at in the struggle was another in Finland than in Russia. We wished only to regain the rights we had been robbed of, and after that to work out our internal development according to our

own lights and to the best of our ability. They labored for the revolution, for a general upheaval, for a political and social liberation of the people, which was to transform Russia completely. We had laws, we had a sense of justice, a law-directed Western liberty; this the Russian Monarchy had sought to crush, and this we wanted back again. The Russians knew only decrees and commands, police regulations and reports of gendarmes; they thought to remodel their country by fresh decrees and regulations of another description. They were absorbed in dreams and Utopias, and yearned for an ideal society in which there was political liberty, and where all social injustice was set right. In Finland a party was gradually formed which did not realize how great was the difference between the aims of the Russian liberty movement and Finland's struggle for her rights. This was the Labor Party, which has incorrectly described itself as the Social-Democrat Party. This party which, during the rapid growth of the industries, had developed out of some working-men's associations conducted in a grudging, but not hostile, spirit by the employers, and which, to begin with, was without all political influence, gained vitality and thrived through the connection with Russian revolutionary circles. It got to look at existing phenomena with Russian eyes, learned to mix up proletariat policy with Finnish emancipation, and to employ revolutionary methods of action for the gaining of its ends; it forgot the huge gulf fixed between Finland's Western social conditions and the Eastern chaos of Russia. This fact, that Finland's Labor Party from the outset struck into Russian paths and made the cause of the Russian revolutionaries its own; this was the original fatal cause that such a thing as the Red Insurrection in 1918 became at all possible.

The first results of the tactics of the Labor Party became evident in the stirring years 1905 and 1906. The Russo-Japanese War ended in the defeat of Russia. The bitter resentment against the chief men in power in Russia became so widespread that a general strike was proclaimed there towards the end of October, 1905. The stir re-echoed in Finland. This was a "passive" measure which nobody objected to, so here too a general strike was proclaimed. All work throughout the country stopped. The strike included the Government

offices, all means of communication, the factories, the university, and the police. The Government of the country, the senate, were compelled to resign; the Russian Governor-General fled to an ironclad lying in the sea-roads of Helsinki; and the Finnish community put forward its claims. They were, of course, to the effect that the downtrodden rights should be restored. But the Labor Party had not been taken into account. In the course of the week that the strike lasted, this party showed how strong it had grown, and its claims were now others than those of the hated "Bourgeois." It demanded a Constituent National Assembly, by which the country's future was to be shaped.

Finland's representative assembly was constituted on antiquated lines, and within its four estates the workingman had not been able to gain a hearing. It was, therefore, a surprise to everybody when they now acted suddenly with such vigor. This was chiefly felt through the forces for the maintenance of order which they instituted. As already mentioned, the police had joined the strike. Protective Corps of volunteers for the maintenance of order were then formed, consisting chiefly of students and other young men who wore a white band round the left arm for a badge. The leaders of the Labor Party stood doubtful with regard to these White Finn organizations; at first they co-operated with them, but later on they changed tactics. They established their own militia police corps with a red band round the arm — the first germ of the Red Guard. It now became the object of the latter to arrogate to itself as much of the power as possible. So some of the towns of Finland, among others the capital, were "occupied" almost entirely by the Red Finns. Conflicts between the Red and the White could not be wholly avoided, for, in the knowledge of their power, the Labor Party tried to carry through their claim of a Constituent National Assembly. There was a moment when revolvers flashed in the hands of a troop of Red and a troop of White as they met, and another when the workingmen already elected their own Government at a meeting in a square. But finally they yielded and contented themselves with the results obtained by the Loyalist groups — the re-establishment of the country's rights. Still the schism had now become as plain as daylight; the Labor

press declared that the middle and upper class had played the people false, and the corps of the Red Finns were transformed to a purely military organization "to safeguard the interests of the workingman."

The Finnish military had been dissolved in 1901 — only a battalion of the Guards had been left — but this also had ceased to exist shortly before the outbreak of the general strike. Now non-commissioned officers and privates from the dissolved battalion trained the Red Finns; the language of command was Russian, and the actual business of the army somewhat obscure. It was in touch with Russian revolutionary organizations, and became a sort of Finnish central exchange for all the terrorist fanaticism which manifested itself throughout Russia in the course of the following months; not the least so in the neighboring Baltic provinces, where excited mobs ravaged the large estates with pillage, murder and incendiarism.

In Finland, too, a lot of red anarchist outrages were committed, and when in July, 1906, a Russian military revolt broke out in the Sveaborg fortress, the Red Finns considered it their business to interfere. They took the side of the Russian revolutionary troops, and even attempted to bring off another general strike. This attempt was however, foiled by the opposition parties, but the affair did not pass without bloodshed. A squad of the White Protection Corps was ambushed in a square in Helsinki and the Red Finns, who were armed with Russian army rifles, shot down seven of its men. The situation was complicated. Certainly the whole of Finland sympathized with the Russian revolutionary movement, but we had — at least to a certain degree — arrived at a possibility of shaping our own internal affairs. Therefore no sensible citizen wished to draw our people into the great Russian turmoil. Our strength and our safeguard were law-abidingness, loyalty; we did not want to fling our whole "Western" position to the winds and plunge into the Eastern maelstrom. Yet the line between the two was not always easy to find, and the workingmen did not see it. With Finnish doggedness and stubbornness they had adopted the frail phantasms and Utopias of the Russians. What were to these latter only card-houses, built up in

a moment of excitement, and the collapse of which was viewed later on with a shrug of the shoulders, became to the Finnish workingman a sacred, solid temple, firmly fixed, and incapable of ever falling in.

In face of the danger which threatened the unity of the people from the Labor bands — in hopes of satisfying them and giving them what they had learned to regard as a right — the Assembly of Estates, the Lantdag, was now transformed to a representative assembly so democratic that the world has never yet seen its like. It became a Single-Chamber, the 200 representatives of which were returned by a system of universal suffrage for all men and women that had completed their twenty-fourth year. The first elections for this parliament took place in March, 1907. The Labor Party got eighty representatives.

In the meanwhile the red militia had been dissolved and the participants in the Sveaborg revolt sentenced to penal servitude. The Single-Chamber opened up a new field of work for the Labor Party which therefore struck into parliamentary paths. They had, however, read a sufficient number of reports in the papers, about stormy scenes in the parliaments of the Balkans and elsewhere, to know to the full how cheerfully a session may shape itself with noise from the Left Pan applause, interruptions and all sorts of enlivening riots. The Single-Chamber gave on the whole a very melancholy picture of the cultural level of the people.

Upon the improved conditions inaugurated with the general strike there soon followed a period of increasing Russian reaction. In Finland, where the Tsarist policy of repression had hitherto been regarded wholly and solely as the outcome of views within the highest bureaucracy, it was now discovered that also great portions of the Russian people saw in the national annihilation of Finland a great and necessary mission for the Russian Empire. The Duma sanctioned illegal measures against Finland. A fresh era of outrage and violence began for this country. With a certain weariness and pessimism the policy of passive resistance was there taken up again. The work of the Lantdag became mere desolation, partly

because all the protests of the Chamber against the new rule of unlawfulness were followed by decrees of dissolution; partly because the enactments of the Single-Chamber were never corroborated in St. Petersburg; and, last but not least, because the most powerful party in the Lantdag, the Social Democrats, resorted to tactics of opposition and obstruction which distorted the decisions and gave rise to endless, acrimonious debates.

As said before, the Labor Party had struck into parliamentary paths — that is to say, they now aspired to gain the means of power that could be obtained in the altered circumstances in which no overt Russo-Finnish revolution could be thought of, viz., the majority in the Lantdag. All their work was agitation against the upper class, the bourgeoisie, the capitalists. One catchword which proved most effective was the epithet "Butchers of the People," which had been fastened on the White Protective Corps during the general strike. "Butchers" now were all non-workingmen, and the word was an excellent termination to the well-known series — robbers, bloodsuckers, misers. The class struggle was proclaimed; Internationalism, Anti-Militarism, Atheism and Free Marriage were exalted to new lodestars of humanity. The industries suffered greatly during the agitation work. Strike followed upon strike; the distrust of employers and foremen was unlimited.

The most melancholy thing about the whole of these tactics was no doubt the systematically created distrust of all human motives. The whole activity of the "bourgeois," all his thoughts and efforts, were directed only towards one goal — the fleecing of the workingman in order that he might become rich himself. And the working-man's sole claim to existence was in his efforts to obtain better conditions of life; poverty was the root of all evil, of all sorrows and sufferings. By this view the urban middle class of Finland, among others, were shamefully wronged. They had fought bravely for the rights of their country and on the whole for Western culture in the common native land. They had been imprisoned, exiled and sent to Siberia. In 1911-17 some fifty Government functionaries had been shut up in Russian prisons because they refused to obey illegal Monarchist orders. All

this was suppressed in the Labor press, all this did not exist to the excited working class; on the contrary, Finland's upper classes were represented as miserable tools in the hands of Tsarism.

The agitation of the Labor Party was mendacious, brutal and mean. This was chiefly caused by the fact that the party had never succeeded in securing any honest, upright and trustworthy leaders. Its touring lecturers, stump orators and editors were almost without exception persons of weak character and many high flown words with the ambitions of strugglers. Its representatives in the Lantdag were precisely these lecturers and editors, besides a number of well-trained voting automatons. The sole object of the party was to gain power; therefore it could never attract men of broader views or moderate sentiments, although the wave of social radicalism that swept over the country after 1905 might have produced many eminent and convinced leaders of a real Social Democratic Party.

In ordinary circumstances a seditious agitation like that of the Labor Party would have called forth strong opposition and energetic measures of repression. But now the Russian policy of oppression loomed as a continual threat in the background, holding, without a doubt, a still greater danger in store for the country. Therefore, first and foremost, it was necessary to face the latter. Besides, the violent attacks, accusations and threats of the faction leaders were found to be so exaggerated that it was believed they would gradually cease to influence even the workingmen. This, however, proved a mistake. The many and varied groups of laborers, recently arrived in the cities and manufacturing centers, with Finnish doggedness and fanaticism had espoused that mixture of extreme Socialistic and Russian revolutionary doctrines which had been preached to them. The work of agitation against the "middle and upper class" had left a sediment of dark hatred in their hearts against all other classes, while these latter, without seeing the division within the people itself — or at least without perceiving its extent and the danger it carried with it — continued their silent war of defense against the Russian tyrannous policy.

Such was the state of Finland when the world war broke out.

2. From the Outbreak of the War to the Russian Revolution

The world war brought Finland into a peculiar position. Without an army, with conscription not legally done away with but put out of practice by the Russians themselves, she stood as a portion of the Russian Empire which did not take part in the war. So severe was the discontent which the Russian policy of repression had aroused in Finland that Russia did not even deem it advisable to attempt to enlist military here. On the other hand, only one wish was prevalent in all classes and factions: the defeat of Russia. For the experience of the Russo-Japanese war, as well as ordinary commonsense, told them that the present regime must come to an end with a defeat, and the way thus be opened to liberty for Finland, whereas a victory would get fresh wind into the sails of the Monarchists and destroy all our hopes. Even the leaders of the Labor Party were of this opinion, all the more so as it was held by the Russian revolutionary extremists.

Already at the beginning of the war an imperial manifesto had, however, been issued which boded a complete assimilation of Finland. And the further the war proceeded the more severely the Russian pressure was felt. Huge formations of Russian troops were garrisoned here, the Russian Baltic fleet filled the ports, the country was declared to be in a state of war. Through this a practical Russification of the country was begun. Street life took on a Russian aspect, the wealthiest customers in the shops were Russians, the erotic successes of the Russian uniform exposed the feminine community to dangers of a particular kind. The Russian gendarmerie — the political police showed energetic activity, arrests and the searching of houses was the order of the day. Russian soldiers even executed Finnish citizens without as much as asking the permission of the Finnish authorities. The pressure was insufferable, and the yearning for deliverance from the yoke of Russia became stronger and stronger. It was obvious enough that the passive method would

not in these circumstances lead to the goal. Once — in 1905 — it had brought victory to us, now another vista was before us, and the time for action seemed to have come. Now at least a more or less complete liberation from Russian suzerainty might be thought of and dreamed of. Endeavors of such a kind could not be called treasonable, for, on the one hand, Russia had time after time broken her pledges to Finland, and, on the other hand, it was quite clear of what military importance Finland was as the sole bridge to Western Europe, as a port to the fleet, and as the owner of Åland, and this was tantamount to the future exposure of Finland to a policy of Russification still more intense, if possible, than hitherto. Ways and means of interfering were considered, and several proposals cropped up. The plainest illustration of this natural effort of Finland to get out of the connection with Russia which was so destructive to her nationality and culture, was given already in the first year of the war by a number of volunteers enlisting at a German military academy, where they formed a special battalion of chasseurs [27th Jäger] which, after having been trained and outfitted, was placed on a quiet section of the the Eastern front.

For the rest, the war carried with it in Finland the same difficulties, the same shortage of food and abundance of money, the same change of values and fortunes as in the rest of the world. But one more phenomenon must be pointed out: the Russian fortification work in the country. This stupendous enterprise, directed against an eventual Swedish invasion or a German landing, consisted both in the surrounding of the most important cities by belts of forts, blasted into the mountains, bylines of trenches and barbed wire defenses, as well as in the building of lines of defense virtually throughout the whole of the country. How much work these fortifications have cost is best seen from the observations of an officer of the German general staff on the defenses round Helsinki. He says that these fortifications surpassed everything German soldiers had seen during the world war, as well Liege as Verdun, as well Kovno as Warsaw, even the mountain fortresses in the Italian Alps. These huge positions were built by Finnish and imported laborers under Russian command. Enormous crowds of workingmen overran the parts where the work

was carried on, the pay was good, discipline there was none, the claims made on individual effort were the least possible. Innumerable were the anecdotes related about bribes, cheating, faked pay-bills, etc., in connection with this work. But one melancholy result they had. The laborers became corrupted, and were thought to fraternize with the Russian soldiers. A friendship was struck up between the worst elements within each group, and the compact was soon sealed by pillage, theft, robbery and murder, all in concert. The tracts where the fortification work had been carried on became the worst haunts of Finnish-Russian bands of hooligans in the winter of 1917-1918, and, from the ranks of those fortification workers who had been led astray, the most licentious bands of the reviving Red Guard were recruited.

During the war Finland's Lantdag had not been permitted to assemble. But in the summer of 1916 the new general elections took place. These were not able to create any very great interest, as it was impossible to foresee under what conditions the assembly would meet, and what problems would then be set before it. Only the Labor Party succeeded as before in rallying its constituents round the old familiar catchwords, and thus it obtained the power in parliament it had so eagerly coveted. The results of the election were 103 Labor representatives and 97 Loyalists. The Labor Party was now in absolute majority.

3. The March Revolution in Russia and the Position of Finland

When the Russian revolution broke out in March, 1917, it was, of course, welcomed with the greatest joy throughout all Finland, especially as the Government elected by the Duma immediately took up the Finnish question. The strongest feeling of deliverance and relief was, however, in the beginning due to the fact that our political prisoners in Russia might now be sure of liberation. Since the autumn of 1915 the leader of the Lantdag, Mr. Svinhufvud, had been in Siberia; thither also the mayor of Vasa city, Mr. Hasselblatt, and several others had been deported; the chief of the fire department was in the interior of Russia, and, finally, a hundred Finnish patriots had been confined for months in the prisons of St. Petersburg awaiting sentence of death. The thought of these unhappy victims to the struggle for our right had lain like a heavy load on the whole community; it was to them, therefore, that the first joyful thoughts from Finland went out.

Nor was it long before information was received that the new Kerenski Government had done everything in its power, viz., once more restored to Finland all her rights. Still at the same time it was found that the representatives of our Labor Party had preferred the demand that the Russian Provisional Government should introduce into its manifesto promises of the social reforms desired by the party; but as these demands were at once rejected as contrary precisely to those fundamental laws which would now again become valid, this bold step did not attract any particular attention. Yet, in the light of later events, this was the first sign that the Labor Party did not shrink from resorting to any foreign means of power, when it was a question of carrying through their own private claims.

The situation soon became very complicated.

The drama played in Finland by the Russian Bolshevik troops carried away by the intoxication of the revolution, showed what an army in

process of disintegration means, and what an Asiatic barbarism the Russian army in dissolution was able to develop. The first days of the revolution in Helsinki took the shape of a huge riot of the soldiers and the mob. Detachments of naval and land forces dashed about in the motor-cars of their commanders, all with rifle or revolver in hand, with the finger on the trigger, firing volleys of shot into the air for joy, or shooting straight before them in order to increase the din and noise caused by the furious speed. They were hunting for the Tsarist officers who had concealed themselves. The latter were killed wherever they were found, in their houses, in the street, or on staircases. The fatal shot was fired almost without exception from behind, in an unguarded moment when the victim was ordered to come along to be submitted to examination or simply arrested without ceremony. Helsinki was entirely in the power of the Russian soldiers. They had turned out the police and maintained "order" themselves. Demonstration meetings and processions were arranged. Machine-guns were pulled through the streets, and fired off now in this place, now in that. Anything like this Russian-Barbarian frenzy had never yet been witnessed by the population; whichever way you cast your eye in the streets you saw only wild, armed troops with the expression of madmen on their faces, carrying revolvers in their hands and the swords of murdered officers at their sides. These, then, were the deliverers of Russia — and of Finland!

It was not possible to regard the riotous bands with any immediate sympathy, even if one was obliged to argue oneself into the belief that even their activity had helped Finland to comparative liberty. It was a Russian mob which was presented to one's sight; frenzied, brutal, ignorant mobs that took the life of their superiors with impunity. And the aversion to these formations grew when it was understood that they by no means intended to abolish the Russian command in Finland. In place of the Tsarist gendarmerie came the Bolshevik "Counter Espionage Department for the Defense of Popular Liberty," which took over all the papers of the gendarmerie from the time of war. The liberated Finnish prisoners in St. Petersburg were obliged to fly quickly across the frontier to Sweden, the new Russian military authorities — all sorts of boards and

committees — continued to arrest Finnish citizens and arrange house searches. Finland was still ruled by the Russian military garrisoned there, though now no longer by the officers but by the soldiers.

The Labor Party did not, however, entertain any doubts. Bound by its traditions to the Russian revolutionary movement, it now cast itself head foremost into the mêlée caused by this latter in Finland. The large demonstration processions of the first weeks were Finnish-Russian, the Labor press at once adopted the whole of the wild Leninist-Bolshevik phraseology, and the lively fraternizing started during the fortification-work between the Russian soldiers and Finnish workingmen was now complete.

It is a matter of course that, in the undisciplined ranks which constituted the Russian troops, the most extreme elements would take the leadership; the murdering of officers was an excellent introduction. It is equally natural that among the Finnish groups of laborers that were expressly invited by the faction-leaders to fraternize with the Russians, the most violent individuals were in the liveliest co-operation with the Russian leaders. These latter were for the most part marines recruited in the first instance among the crews of the big ironclads which had been lying in the ports during the whole of the world war, and the hands of which had therefore had plenty of time to develop into full-fledged Bolsheviks (Maximalists) — nay, into anything and everything but efficient laborers and firm characters.

In Finland pure mob-rule developed with unexpected swiftness. Besides, the Russian soldiers' own conduct, a particularly extensive general pardon granted in consequence of the revolution, by which a great number of criminals were released, was conducive to this. But first and foremost the tactics of the Labor Party. As before mentioned, it had gained a majority at the elections in the summer of 1916, and when now the Single-Chamber assembled, Kullervo Manner, later of such melancholy fame, became its leader, and since

then the equally notorious Oskari Tokoi became president of the parliamentary Government which was elected.

One would have thought that the Labor Party ought to have been satisfied with a majority both in Parliament and Government, and should now have entered upon a sober and dignified policy. But this was by no means the case. The first declaration of Mr. Tokoi's Government was certainly applauded in all circles, for in this he stated plainly and unreservedly how much Finland had hoped for the defeat of Russia in the war, and with what confidence we now looked forward to a freer and happier future for the country. But even if the Labor Party thus observed a certain dignity in its most official conduct, it still continued its agitation policy against the loyalists with unwearied zeal. Strikes broke out one after the Other. Their purpose was to introduce the eight-hour working-day. This demand was quickly acceded to in several industries, but new causes for strikes were continually found. The worst confusion was brought about In the agricultural world. During the busiest sowing season strike upon strike was organized among the farm hands. They too demanded an eight-hour working-day, a claim which it would be most difficult to give general sanction to within this sphere of activity. A lot of the strikes were started out of pure spitefulness or old grudges. It was dissatisfaction with a foreman and the demand that he should be discharged, or there was something the matter with the food rations or cottages; often a strike was proclaimed against the food crisis. The farm hands refused to belabor the soil and sow, thinking by this refusal to extort bigger rations.

The strikes often assumed a violent character. The strikers prevented the people on the farms from milking or feeding the cows. The farmers were locked up and threatened with death if they did not agree to the demands of the "people," the dairies were closed by force, and there were conflicts, with stone-throwing, stabbing and shooting with revolvers.

The leaders of the Labor Party might, of course, have done much to stop this behavior which, for every week that passed, assumed more

plainly the character of capricious violence. But they did not. The reasons for this were many. In part they were not able, and in part they were not willing to interfere with the violent agitation of the Mob. This would have demanded co-operation with the bourgeoisie, and such co-operation was not desired. It would have demanded the established of an active native police force — a Government police by preference — whereas now it was the express policy of the Labor Party to destroy the police entirely. The police force, which had been ousted by the Russian soldiers at the very beginning of the revolution, never came into being again. The "people" felt no confidence in this institution, and in its stead local corps for the maintenance of order were established — a "red militia" the men of which were to belong to the Labor Party. The determination to get the police authority of the country entirely into its own hands was so energetically carried on by the Labor Party, and was so successful, that later on in the year the militia in many cases gave the signal for all sorts of disturbances. Already in the course of the summer the police force of Helsinki went on strike, and this act was of course illustrated by a whole series of offenses, from the picking of pockets to robbery and murder, as was very natural in a city of 200,000 inhabitants which was without any real police, and was besides the haunt of huge formations of undisciplined Russian soldiers and sailors.

In the meanwhile the many strikes and the general disturbance had another effect which was also of advantage to the Labor Party. They cowed ordinary city dwellers. This latter now got to know what "the power of the people" meant; it realized that the revolutionaries no longer asked and paid, but demanded and claimed. Never, I suppose, has the provincial workingman, but especially the rough, felt so empowered as in the year 1917 in Finland; never, I suppose, has the smallholder and office worker had so strong a feeling as then that he was only tolerated and that his part was only silence and acquiescence. It was felt in the streets and in tram cars — everywhere where people of different mores came together — that Finland had got a ruler, that the workingmen with the assistance of the Russian soldiers had come to feel that their class was the one

that ruled the country. A typical illustration of this feeling was a resolution, carried at a meeting of laborers at Torneå, in which the urban middle classes were commanded to give up wearing starched collars and cuffs "so that they would look like other people."

Difficult as were the exterior and interior conditions of the country, an increased mob-rule could only cause still greater confusion, trouble and disaster. The Lantdag was at work and treated a great number of Bills, but the Labor Party brooked no compromise, would not hear of the least modification or amendment of the Bills once proposed by it. The debates were one long series of violent oratorical sallies against the middle class, however willing, and more than willing, these latter in fact were to fix by legislation the length of the working-day within the various industries, to reform the municipal statutes, and to accelerate the emancipation of the cottagers — the three chief claims of the Labor Party. But the objective of the party was power. It had only a narrow majority in the Lantdag; it therefore behooved it to fan the hatred against the "bourgeois" to a still greater flame. The party did not feel how many enemies it raised up against itself in this way. The farmers were resentful on account of the unceasing agricultural strikes, and even the older and more sober-minded workingmen began to entertain doubts of the development their party was taking. For it was quite plain that an element of pure hooliganism was coming more and more into the foreground.

However disquieting the situation was in the interior, it was not given all the attention it might have deserved, for another and more important question filled the minds of all — the old question of the relations with Russia. The impotence of the great empire began to show more and more plainly. All the various foreign nationalities within the frontiers of the empire sought to emancipate themselves, and the possibility of an independent Finland came nearer and nearer. It was, of course, difficult to maintain a uniform and firm line of policy in this question, so vague was the perspective, so varying the Russian drama. But the trend of things was given; the object must be to get as far as possible from the Russian mayhem.

Only the Labor Party vacillated. It was fascinated by the great revolution and drawn towards it as the moth towards the flame. "I believe I am expressing correctly the inmost thought of the whole Finnish proletariat," wrote one of the leaders of the Party on the 4th May, "when I say that the Finnish democracy wishes to fight side by side with the Russian democracy for the most exalted ideals of humanity, and when I say that its will is that Finland may for ever constitute an internally autonomic part of the great free Russia's democracy."

But such declarations were as yet out of place. At a party congress in June the Labor Party, without such far reaching suggestions, resolved that "Finland's people shall be emancipated from State dependency and tutelage."

For as yet the "bourgeoisie" were in power in Russia. On the 3rd July a representative of the Finnish Labor Party expressly declares that this is the meaning of the efforts for independence made by the Finnish proletariat. He says, in a memorial to the great Working-men's and Soldiers' Council at St. Petersburg: "Hitherto we have been obliged to fight on two fronts — against our own bourgeoisie, and against the Tsarist Government. If our class war is to be successful, if we are to be able to gather all our strength on one front, against our own bourgeoisie, we need Independence, for which Finland is already ripe."

There was yet another reason why the Labor Party entered the independence of Finland as an item in its program. The hatred against Russia was so vivid in all sections of the population that overt friendship with Russia might have become fatal. A radical striving for independence would, however, have every condition for strengthening the power of the party. This calculation certainly proved right. In the course of the summer the Labor Party got help in the Chamber from a few opposition party representatives when, on the strength of a resolution sanctioned by the Russian Working-men's and Soldiers' Congress, it wanted to push through Finland's independence in a hurry, together with a number of radical reforms

coupled with it. This took place at a moment when it was believed that the downfall of the Russian Provisional Government was pending. But the Kerenski Government survived the assault and dissolved the Lantdag. Writs were issued for new elections for the 1st October. After the dissolution came a series of parliamentary conflicts, which it would take too long to detail here. It need only be stated that the solution of the problem of Finland's independence as sanctioned by the Labor Party, presupposed a continued connection with Russia, whose Government alone had the right of deciding all external and military matters.

The strikes and agitation continued throughout the summer, and as the butt of them were chosen by preference the representatives of the townships and the country communities. Of these latter was demanded a increase in salaries, or extra work, in order to mitigate economic distress, etc., and to carry through these claims, the premises where the representatives were assembled were besieged, and the representatives prevented from leaving them, until the claim was granted. At Turku the representatives were beleaguered for a day and a half; in Helsinki the whole affair lasted only a few hours; at Helsinge it looked as if there was going to be black trouble. The red mob called in the aid of the Russian military when a siege of a day and a night had brought no result, and the soldiers threatened instantly to set fire to the meetinghouse, which was built of wood, if the representatives did not at once comply with the "People's" wish. As the soldiers were evidently in earnest, the majority of the representatives decided to grant the increase in pay which was the object of the whole affair.

Events of this kind encouraged provisions for the maintenance of order. The successors of the police — the red militia of the Labor Party — had proved insincere in maintaining civil order. To this trouble was added a number of cares for the future. A German invasion in Finland was not excluded. At least it might be hoped that the Russian troops would evacuate Finland after an eventual separate peace. In both cases a removal of the Russian troops might then be thought of, and what this meant was seen from the

communications about the retreat in Galicia after Kerenski's unsuccessful offensive in July. The whole population of Finland knew that the troops of Russian soldiers it saw in its villages might at any moment be changed into hordes of wild animals, just like those which had looted and burnt, committed murder and outrage in Tarnopol and other cities, and it did not wish to suffer such a fate without at least making some attempt at resistance.

Taking all this into account — the already prevailing anarchy, the mob-rule with its continual acts of violence, and the fear of possible Russian massacres, it was both reasonable and necessary to form protection corps of volunteers for the defense of the life and property of the population. It was just as natural that there should be a wish to recruit these corps from all sections of society and all parties. In many parts the organization was begun in perfect harmony between the Socialists and Bourgeois. Anyone would be able to see that the matter was urgent and of importance to everybody. In the rules and regulations for the Protective Corps was contained the clause that they were only to turn out at the orders of the lawful police. The Government, from which the representatives of the Labor Party had withdrawn after the dissolution of the Lantdag, established its police school in the country near the town of Borga, where a mounted troop of 200 men was trained to be ready to be sent out in an emergency to stop revolts in any part of the country. The institution of protective corps was undisguisedly supported by a couple of the provincial papers of the Labor Press. Yet the whole movement was never very extensive. The Protective Corps hardly felt equal to their great task, especially as a great shortage of arms was felt. For many years the import of arms to Finland had been prohibited, therefore there was only a small store of army rifles and a few revolvers in the possession of the Corps. The 200 pupils in the police school in November owned twelve rifles, the Protective Corps at Helsinki in January, 1918, at the outbreak of the insurrection, were in possession of 100. And in the worst case the foe would be a Russian army corps fully provided with artillery and much else, besides the whole of the Russian Baltic fleet. The prospect was not a bright one.

In the meanwhile the various Protective Corps had appeared here and there, had prevented a robbery of butter destined for the hospitals, captured eighteen scoundrels at Helsinge, etc. This was the signal for the Socialists not only to withdraw from all co-operation, but also to declare war against the Protective Corps. In the chief organ of the Labor Press, "Työmies" (the Working-man), the leading article for the 28th August bore the following title: "The Civic Guard Ready to Attack the Working-man. An Organization embracing the Whole of the Country is Started."

The article asserts quite coolly that the loyalists have armed themselves to "mutilate the starving proletariat." And continues "There is no intention of checking the marauding policy of the war hooligans, but in support of it citizens are armed against the desperate workingmen in order to pour out the blood of brethren." This, of course, was sheer conscious untruth. What was the purpose of the Protective Corps will appear from what has been stated above. The want of an efficient police force also shoved itself in the rationing of food, the producers in the country were very unwilling to send their products to the towns for the express reason that they feared they would be seized without ceremony by the mob. Here, then, was another task for the Protective Corps. But the campaign against them was continued in the Labor Press. A few more extracts will give an idea of the tone. On the 25th September "Työmies," under the title; "Bourgeois Sanguinary Guards. They Are Being Trained and Armed Quickly. Their Activity is Directed against the Working-men," writes among other things as follows:—

> "It is the intention of the upper classes to commit bloody deeds, and to crush the working-men's organizations by force of arms. Is there any difference between Bobrikoff's gendarme rule and this occupation? By no means. These men of the Protective Corps go almost further. They wander about with the finger on the trigger, and are ready to snap the life out of anyone who is dressed in the laborer's jacket." And "the bourgeois themselves have let fall the veil. Their blood-dripping measures are revealed to the sight of the honest fellow-citizen, their armed, thousand-

> headed guards and mounted troops. The bourgeois are bringing up ignorant men to wholesale slaughter of their own fellow citizens. They have already emptied the arsenals of our country, and are directing the muzzles of their guns against their own countrymen, against the hearts of the workingmen. The prosperous open their purses and pay tribute of blood in order to protect their class interests."

And all this because eighteen malefactors have been arrested at Helsinge who have held the province in terror for weeks on end, and among which there was one murderer!

The police school meets with a similar treatment. It says about it: "In Finland we have now over 100 Jack the Rippers. The bourgeois have made a mathematically correct calculation, for the result will be exactly the same whether you reduce the number of stomachs or increase the bread rations."

Whence all this? In part the articles may be accounted for as weapons in the electioneering campaign which was the forerunner of the new Lantdag elections. But the reason why the Labor Party entered the lists in defense of the misdeeds of the mob and the more and more violent anarchy in the country lay deeper. The power of the Bolshevik Party in Russia was growing, and with this party, among whose most eager adherents were the troops garrisoned in Finland and the sailors and marines of the Baltic fleet, the Finnish Labor Party was in lively connection. This party was to bring about the great social revolution throughout the world, one fine day it would take all power into its hands, and the Finnish "comrades" wished to take a share in this. They knew quite well that all the other parties in Finland would oppose a Finnish-Russian proletariat dictatorship, they knew that the Protective Corps would resist such attempts to force Finland into the Russian chaos. Therefore they talked in this high strain, therefore Finland's respectable citizens were made to appear as bloodthirsty wild beasts, therefore the food crisis was presented as the outcome of their wish to starve "the laboring people" and therefore all disturbing elements, all robbers and

incendiaries, were welcome for the support of the approaching revolution. By painting the citizens as Russian bureaucrats and oppressors of the purest water the end was gained, the Russian military and the Finnish laborers presented a common front against the middle and upper class. The situation became clearer, the somersault had come off successfully, the Finnish patriots, who with their life and liberty had defended their country against Russian oppression, who had greeted the Russian revolution with rejoicings, had now been made into "black counter-revolutionists," and "the executioners of the people," worse than Russian agents of the gendarmerie. The situation was ripe for the resurrection of the Red Guard to fight against the Protective Corps.

The Russians understood the intention to act. In October a representative of the Russian Working-men's and Soldiers' Council in Finland says at a Congress of Councilors in St. Petersburg: "Finland stands on the threshold of civil war, Finland's bourgeoisie is armed, and on the point of assaulting the Finnish proletariat. It is the duty of the council to disarm Finland's bourgeoisie and hand over the weapons to Finland's proletariat."

In the course of the summer the first corps of the Red Guard was reborn. In October an appeal was issued from the leaders of the Labor Party to form such corps all over the country.

4. Occurrences of the Autumn and Winter

October

The elections for the new Lantdag took place on the 1st October. The independence of Finland was included in the program of all parties, but in reality a trial of strength was imminent between the "Loyalists" and the "Socialists," the Social Democratic Party was still the official name of the Labor Party. This party had appeared as the protector of the red mob and the friend of the Russian soldiers. It must now be the object of the country to choose between being dragged into the Russian revolution whithersoever this would tend, or resolutely avoiding it, taking its fate into its own hands and re-establishing order. Fortunately, it was seen that the infection from the Russian revolution had not spread to the whole people. The Labor Party lost its majority. It returned 92 representatives against 108 loyalists.

This was a hard blow to the "Socialists." They had gone to the poll with the firm assurance of victory. The many successful strikes, by which wages had been screwed up considerably, had increased the number of the organized laborers almost tenfold, and these were safe votes. Besides this, it was reckoned that the chances for an extreme radicalism were now, in the midst of the world war and the Russian revolution, better than they had ever been. Only for this reason did the Socialists take part in the elections at all. The Labor Party had not acknowledged the dissolution of the Lantdag, and announced that the new elections were "illegal." They took part in them, however, with the assumption that for the new Lantdag" it could not be claimed that it should in every respect conform to the before-existing legal rules," as it said in the party's call to the poll — but that in opposition to the usual rules of procedure of the Lantdag, it had the right to sanction fundamental laws and taxation acts by simple majority, and also to act as a *free constituent assembly.*

So that was it. The people elected a Lantdag, but when it was well elected, and had got its Socialistic majority, it would reveal itself as a constituent assembly! By this the power would be placed in the hands of the Labor Party in a way that was as simple as it was shrewd. But it proved a miscalculation. The party therefore changed tactics, and kept very scrupulously to the usual procedure of the Lantdag, in order to bring the influence of their great minority to bear as much as possible.

As soon as their defeat in the elections had become known, the Labor Party began to organize corps of the Red Guard in earnest. Before they had been mutually independent organizations, now they were to be transformed into a real military formations. The purpose of this was first stated to be self-defense against the butcher-corps, i.e., the Protective Corps, but soon the real, purely revolutionary, intention is allowed to show through, though only obscurely.

In a proclamation issued on the 20th October the leaders of Finland's Collective Trades Unions say as follows:— "As the bourgeoisie is now feverishly arming itself against the laborers in order to stifle their most important endeavors for reform, the leaders are of opinion that in self-defense, and to provide against all contingencies, the laborers should immediately raise corps of Red Guard all over the country." But already on the 16th October the former chief of the Government, Mr. Tokoi, had pointed out in a speech at Turku that the defeat at the elections need not be of decisive importance as "*the laborers had other means of power besides the ballot to bring home their claims*." It was necessary to stand firm, and fight for the victory of the revolution when the right moment had come."

On the 31st October the party council of the Social Democratic Party calls upon those corps of the Guard that are not yet fully equipped to "get ready as quickly as possible, and collect all the forces of the workingmen in order to provide against every contingency, for great events may lie in wait for us." On the next day the "Leading Committee of the Labor Guards Corps" makes the following

announcement: "Great events may call upon us before we expect it, and then the Laborers' Guards Corps must be ready to accomplish their task so that we can be on a level with circumstances."

This is an invitation to revolution. Revolution against what? The word was meaningless, as in reality all the claims for reform, preferred by the Labor Party, had already found, or were on their way to finding, a solution in the Lantdag. But something else was on the books. The most democratic of all election acts had pronounced its sentence, and it went against the Labor Party. It was therefore necessary to bring off a coup by which the party could get into power again in spite of the plainly manifested will of the people. The ballot was no good any longer, the "other means of power" were now looked to with confidence. These, however, were for the time being in the hands of a group of men who were the country's enemies, if anyone was, for they were the rifles of the Russian soldiers. With these it was intended to fight and to cow the people in its own country. That, however, is not revolution, it is treason. And the reason for entering into this mad game? Lust of power together with the fascinating attraction of events in Russia. Besides this, the Labor party had now wrought up its own adherents to such a pitch that they obstinately demanded victory, power, and the complete subjection of the "bourgeoisie."

A journal belonging to the staff of the Red Guard at Tampere shows how the organization of the corps was carried out. At a meeting on the 6th October, a committee was elected for the securing of weapons from the Russian soldiers. Simultaneously majors were appointed.

10th October. The staff determine that the Guard shall be recruited in accordance with the law of conscription. In North Tavastland are placed eleven battalions of men between twenty-one and forty years. The training to begin immediately.

16th October. Conscription is extended to the ages from eighteen to twenty-one. A special armed troop is formed of completely

trustworthy, capable men. Railway men offer to form own battalion. An espionage department is formed. Maps are provided.

17th October. Four interpreters (for co-operation with the Russians) are appointed. An offer from the Russian soldiers of 500 rifles, at 50 Finnish marks apiece (their real value was from 600 to 800 marks), and 125,000 cartridges, is received and at once closed with. It is decided to procure revolvers.

In this way it was intended to protect the "poor starving workingmen" against the "bloodthirsty citizens." A few weeks later it was to appear for what purpose the Russian rifles had actually been procured.

November

On the 1st November the new Lantdag assembled at Helsinki. Its most important problem was provisionally, in some way or other, to adjust the complicated relations with Russia. The discussion relating to this question was carried on partly between the party-groups and partly between these and the representative of the Provisional Government in Finland, Governor-General Nekrasov. But while awaiting the solemn opening of the session it was possible to follow in the press how the situation was developing round about in the country The notices thereof in a certain way throw light upon the circumstances.

1st November. The papers bring the following communications: Six Russian soldiers have searched an office in Helsinki, arrested two persons and put them in prison. Cause: a secret, and false, denouncement for having stored weapons.

— At Vyborg, Cossacks there garrisoned have taken offense at a newspaper notice, prevented the paper from appearing, threatened to arrest and flog the editors.

— A drunken marine soldier has thrown paving-stones through the windows of a tram car in Helsinki.

— A Russian sentry has shot a young Finn who had not succeeded in stopping his runaway horse in time. — Russian soldiers have arrested two persons in a villa suburb of Helsinki — cause unknown.

2nd November. Drunken soldiers make a scene at Tampere station which delays the train two hours.

— "twenty soldiers force their way into the editorial offices the *Kaskö Tidning* and make a search of the house. 'Cause: a woman has said to a soldier that there were weapons in the yard. The search was without results.

— A young girl has been raped by two soldiers.

— Count Armfelt at Aminnegard has been visited by seven armed marine soldiers who arrived in a motor-car, overpowered a sentry post and tried to force their way into the main building to "murder and rob," as they said themselves. They, however, retired when they saw that the house was guarded.

— At a factory in the up-country the parish constable and two policemen come to fetch a suspected individual for examination. This excites the displeasure of the workingmen, who arrest the parish constable and the policemen. They are ordered not to show themselves on the premises of the factory in future.

— The council of soldiers at Vyborg forbids the appearance of the paper which has excited its displeasure "while the war lasts" and threatens violence.

— Finland's Procurator addresses a communication to the Governor-General with the request that the Russian military, totally undisciplined as it is, may be withdrawn from the country.

3rd November. Before the lower court at Turku a case is proceeding against six persons arrested for the theft of butter. Suddenly 50 Russian marine soldiers, armed with rifles with fixed bayonets, force their way in and surround both judge and prisoners. Two sailors take

their stand on either side of the prosecutor and direct their revolvers against him. Then the court is ordered with threats of revolvers and rifles to release the prisoners. As the bench remain silent, the soldiers themselves release the prisoners, seize all the papers of the court, and take their departure with the six happy thieves.

— Two soldiers force their way into a shop, knock down the shop-girl and rob the till.

— A board-school teacher and his wife are fired at without cause as they are walking along a country road. They succeed in concealing themselves in a wood. The pursuing soldiers fire about forty shots at them.

— A gentleman is attacked one night in the heart of Helsinki by two marine soldiers, they catch hold of his head from behind and stab him in the chest. A book he carries in his pocket saves him.

The days from the 4th to the 7th November furnish the following illustrations: A fight in a dancing saloon with stabbing and revolver shooting. Russian soldiers seize without ceremony 300 kilograms of tin; when the owner appears, the soldiers try to arrest him; he escapes into a house, is fired at, returns the fire; the house is surrounded, the man is seized, bound, and taken to the Russian barracks.

— A drunken soldier fires several shots through a window, the bullets hit the wall just above the bed of a sleeping child. After that the man shoots down the streets and breaks some windows. Seven house-searches without results are made by Russian soldiers.

— Soldiers commit burglary in a school and a factory.

— In the middle of the day a gentleman, who has drawn a considerable sum of money in a bank, is assaulted by three Russian marine soldiers in the heart of Helsinki. They drag the man into a gateway, strike him till he loses consciousness, and rob him.

— A woman of the streets has been arrested for theft. Russian soldiers demand her release or threaten to release her by force.

— The Government, who had made energetic attempts to re-establish the highly necessary permanent police, is informed by a deputation of Russian soldiers that the military garrisoned at Helsinki intends to prevent any such attempt by force of arms.

— From an account published in a Russian paper of a soldiers' meeting it appears that the soldiers had made journeys to Russia to procure arms for the Finnish laborers.

The situation was not agreeable. Behind the searches and arrests of the Russian soldiers stood the Labor Party, which was not ready itself to come into the foreground, and, for the time being, contented itself with keeping the hated "citizens" in continual terror through all these military assaults. This was not, however, understood by the people as yet. They thought that the proceedings of the Russians were caused by an exaggerated and mad fear of "German agents"; that the soldiers feared a German advance against St. Petersburg, "the heart of the revolution," and therefore ravaged the land as they did. Too great a faith in their own people prevented the Finns from seeing facts as they were, the largest political party in the country joining the rapacious bands of Russian soldiers for purposes of treason.

A speaking proof of this good faith on the one hand, and the treachery of the Labor Party on the other hand, is found in the before-mentioned journal containing reports of the meetings of the Red Guard staff at Tampere. On the 6th November the municipal council requests the Red Guard to send some representatives to confer with the Protective Corps with a view to cooperation. This request is refused. On the 8th November there is a fresh communication from the municipal council. Information has been received from Estonia giving a terrible description of the ravages of the Russian soldiers there. The municipal council therefore again requests the Red Guard to send some representatives to confer with the Protective Corps, in order that they may act in concert if the

Russian military should begin to harry Finland as cruelly as Estonia. According to the report the answer of the staff is to the effect that disturbances from the side of the Russians are not to be feared, and that all grounds are wanting for co-operation between the bourgeois and the workingmen. At the same time the staff send two representatives and an interpreter to a Russian soldiers' meeting which "is dealing with the question of procuring arms for us." The result is good. They get their weapons. It must be noted that the staff is under the leadership of the Labor Party, and that the latter, as it appears from several places in the report, was also in direct negotiation with the Russians about the procuring of weapons.

This little incident gives a good idea of the situation. As yet the loyalist classes had such optimistic notions about the Red Guard of the Labor Party that they believed them ready to defend the country if it became necessary. But these latter were in reality already taken up by an energetic revolutionary co-operation with the Russians, and were arming themselves together with them against their own countrymen — at the same time assuring the latter that no danger threatened.

One more act of violence was committed during the first days of November, and one that attracted special attention, partly because it cost several people their lives, and partly because it showed how exceedingly difficult the task of the Protective Corps practically was. On the 6th November, about fifty armed Russian marine soldiers arrived by train and motor-car in the neighborhood of the estate of Mommila in Tavastland. At Mommila were staying some friends and relatives of the owner, the Landbrugsraad Kordelin — eleven ladies and eleven gentlemen. When they were warned by telephone of the sudden concentration of military in the neighborhood, they applied to the nearest town for a guard. Six men were sent. The next morning the soldiers marched into Mommila, cut the telephone wires, took the guard captive, and made an energetic search throughout the house. Four of five of the sailors proved to be Finns in uniform, a couple of these were bad characters from the neighborhood. During the search gold watches, bracelets, rings, bangles, garments, etc.,

disappeared. The sailors made themselves at home at the breakfast table and let the hungry visitors see how much they enjoyed the meal intended for them. As a reason for this enforced hospitality, now one reason, now another, was given. The search was for corn, arms, German spies, all according to circumstances. When the search was ended, all the eleven gentlemen were arrested, in order, as it was said, to be taken to Helsinki. In the meanwhile the news of the proceedings of the soldiers had spread, and from the neighboring town, Lahti, thirty men of the Protective Corps proceeded to Mommila to find out what was actually going on. On the high road, some kilometers from the estate, the thirty men met a motor-car packed full of armed sailors, and behind it came the whole bevy of prisoners in various vehicles guarded by sailors. The leader of the Protective troop signaled to the motor-car to stop, which it did. On his asking what the soldiers were up to, they answered by giving fire. After that there was brisk firing which lasted for about forty minutes. The prisoners of the Russians ran off towards the wood, but two of them, the Landbrugsraad, Mr. Kordelin, and the manager of a large factory, a civil engineer, Mr. Pettersson, were immediately shot down by their guards before they had made the least attempt to run away. The shots were fired by a sailor sitting behind them in the cart, evidently a Finn in disguise. A valuable ring worn by Kordelin disappeared and was found again a few months after in the possession of a Russian infantryman who was offering it for sale. In the fight two members of the Protective Corps were killed, a photographer and a verderer, while two sailors were killed and several wounded. The Russians fled in different directions, some of them were captured later on after more or less violent conflicts, but they were of course liberated as soon as they were handed over to the military authorities. The Protective Corps of Helsinki now marched out, but at the same time the Russian military took alarm. They took possession of the important railway junction Riihimaki, in their nervousness fired at a train with exchanged German invalided prisoners, and sent 400 men with rifles and machine guns to Mommila. In order to avoid bigger fights the Protective Corps of Helsinki retreated.

The murdered owner of Mommila was a very wealthy man. He had made a will by which the whole of his fortune, amounting to more than forty million marks, was left to all sorts of associations and institutions for the education of the people.

Among the loyalists it was believed that the events at Mommila would open the eyes of the laborers and show them the necessity for concord and united action against the Russian outrages and the native hooliganism. All Loyalist papers expressed the hope that the Protective Corps, as well as all the corps of the Red Guard, would now unite and combine to guard the peace and lawful order of the country.

There was all the more reason for nourishing such hopes as Finland had, just at this time, by the force of circumstances, been practically detached from Russia. On the 7th November the Bolshevik insurrection had broken loose in Russia and Kerenski's Provisional Government had been overthrown. Russia was now without government, for the right to the executive power was not acknowledged by anyone but the party's own members, and so much was plain that the power vested in the Russian Emperor, in his quality of Grand Duke of Finland, could not without ceremony pass over to a Russian party committee which had usurped the power. Finland must now decide her own fate.

The moment was great and historical. The collapse of Russia had now progressed so far that Finland as a detached whole could choose her own way and show that she was really a nation with Western culture, capable of holding her own among the States of Europe. But the Labor Party would not hear of anything of the sort. In accordance with the old form of government the Lantdag was to choose a ruler for the country already on the 8th November. But, on account of the split among the factions, the presidency of the Lantdag was of opinion that there were grounds for proposing an administration committee of three persons. The Labor Party moved a counter-proposal containing the program of an entire social revolution, and demanding among other things that the law — the

so-called Power Law — which had been the cause of the dissolution of the former Lantdag should now be confirmed. This party thus considered it adequate — as proposed in this law — to continue to commit all foreign and military affairs to the Russian Government which at the moment did not exist. After a great many difficulties the question was decided to the effect that the Lantdag itself took over the Higher Power in Finland.

In the meanwhile the Labor Party found that the moment had now come to bring into play those "unparliamentary means of power" they had so often threatened to employ. On the 13th November at twelve midnight they proclaimed a general strike throughout the country, and their first act was to take possession of all the printing offices of the Loyalist papers, so that the morning papers could not appear on the 14th. The Red Guard had now come into action.

What was the reason for this sudden vigorous measure just at this time? The demands preferred by the party in the strike proclamation did not make the matter clearer. They consisted in a radical regulation of the food question, and the struggle against unemployment on the manifesto laid down by the Labor Party; the confirmation of the "Power Law," of the law of the eight hour working day, and of the proposed radical municipal law; secure guarantees for an old-age pension scheme, for an effective taxation of large incomes, tax war profits, for the emancipation of farm hands, and the extension of the franchise to persons of the age of twenty; the convening of a constituent assembly.

It is not easy to see how a general strike would be able to act beneficially with regard, e.g., to the providing of food, or do away with unemployment, or why the "Power Law," with its highly unsatisfactory solution of the problem of Finland's relations with Russia, was now so desirable. On the whole there was every possible reason for suspecting that the end and purpose of the strike was something very different from what the proclamation stated, and that this latter was only a mere misleading sign. This was seen in the first instance from the fact that the strike did not end when the

Lantdag passed the two Bills it was possible to pass — the eight hour working day and the municipal law — but not until a couple of days after, though none of the many other claims had been carried through. Furthermore, the real purpose might be inferred from the fact that the strike leadership was in the hands of a committee bearing the name of the" Revolutionary Central Council" — so it was intended to start a revolution. And last but not least, in the declaration which ended the strike, was found a passage showing that power was the ultimate object. "Finland's bourgeoisie is certainly not yet on its knees before the working class," it says. And as a consolation: "The general strike has ended, but the revolution persists."

A couple of documents now accessible, from the days before the outbreak of the strike, give us another glimpse into its real purpose. On the 9th November a committee elected by the Social-Democratic Municipal Organization meets at Turku, the purpose of which is "to lead the approaching strike" (in the journal is added above the line: "or revolution"). At the meeting two persons are elected who, together with an interpreter, are to take part in the Russian executive committee's and the Bolshevik committee's meetings now sitting, in order to deliberate on the expediency of united action during the approaching revolution. The meeting is adjourned in order to await the return of the deputation, and is continued again at twelve midnight. Two representatives of the executive committee of the Russians are now present. The report of the meeting runs as follows: —

> "The Russian comrades gave an account of their plans; we then explained the situation from our point of view. We agreed that the beginning of the fight should be signaled by three gunshots (first one and then two quickly after one another). At the same time the Russians stated that they had no objection to our people taking the Hotel Phoenix for headquarters, with the exception of the rooms already occupied by the Russian Soldiers' Committee. We informed the Russians that before

morning we would submit a strategical plan for the taking of the city. This plan is later submitted to the Russians."

At the meeting next day the "strategical plan" is discussed, with a few small amendments it is carried, and then sent on to the Russian soldiers. At the same time it is determined that "the leading persons and other such" of the bourgeoisie — a special list is found — are to be arrested immediately on the outbreak of the revolution, and that all "central places" must be taken.

Also in Tampere the strike is prepared after joint deliberation with the Russians. The work is thus distributed that the Russian soldiers are to make all searches after weapons and take possession of the telegraph, while the Finnish Red Guard does the rest.

It is thus plainly seen that the real purpose of the November strike was to carry out the revolution, for which the signal had been given already before, and none other. Now the time had come. The Bolsheviks had taken over the Government in Russia; now they wanted to do the same in Finland. The Finnish Labor Party was allowed to hang on to the coattails of the big Russian revolution and secure the power to themselves at home. In view of this the party was quite indifferent to what the result would be for the country in its entirety if pure anarchy and complete mob-rule should be the result. It looked as if the party had already lost the last remnant of its sense of responsibility and all understanding of law, order and civilization, and that its road now lay in the direction of treason and civil war.

The course the strike took showed what the Red Guard was worth. For several days cartloads of Russian weapons had been rolling out towards the "People's House" at Helsinki. Now the "Working-men's Guard Corps for the Maintenance of Order" were fully equipped. They went round the streets and forcibly closed the shops. They took possession of the headquarters of the police, went over the photographic collection of criminals, and destroyed photographs of thirty-one individuals who were now trusted men in the Red Guard. Eight of them were murderers. A lot of houses were searched, and in Helsinki alone close upon 200 persons were arrested. Among these

was the district magistrate, who sat imprisoned until the month of January. The district magistrate at Turku suffered the same fate. In the streets patrols sauntered about with guns, now and then firing a few volleys "for the maintenance of order."

But worse was still to come. At the order of the "Revolutionary Central Council" the eighteen above mentioned hooligans from Helsinge were let out of the district prison at Helsinki. This was soon felt in their native parish. For thither they went, cheered by the Mob, after having been armed in the "People's House," and there they began their ravages again. First they looked up a board-school teacher, rummaged through his house, found nothing, took him with them into the yard, set him against a wall and shot him. Laughing, the murderers went on. The parish constable was visited by them, and when he met them on his stairs he was fired at and fell down badly wounded. The Red Guard went on and shot the owner of an estate, who came driving along the high road. In his company was a young tradesman who succeeded in escaping. But the next morning he was caught in his home and shot — he might have proved an unpleasant witness. At the estate of Hartonas the owner, Mr. Bergbonn, was sitting at his breakfast table when a troop of Red Guardsmen entered and cried: "Hands up!" Mr. Bergbonn was deaf, and turned to his wife, asking: "What is it they are saying? At the same moment there was a loud report and the old gentleman fell dead to the floor, shot through the head. As if nothing had happened the Red Finns now began to search for arms — which, of course, were not found. A guards constable in private service was the next victim. He was sitting in his little house when the Red entered and ordered him to follow them. The wife and children clung to the head of the family and would not let him go. "You shall have him back again," say the Red consolingly to the woman. Half an hour later the door is opened and the dead body of the man is thrown in. "There, you have your husband!" cries a voice outside.

In a detached villa near Helsinki lived a widowed lady, Mrs. Sahlström, with her four young sons. They had no reason for believing themselves hated or disliked by the "people." But one

morning at seven o'clock they are awakened by a shot from the forest, and looking out through the window they see that the watch-dog lies shot by the steps. At the same moment there is a hammering on the door, and the eldest son, Gunnar, goes out to open it. Hardly has he put his head through the opening when there is the crash of a volley and he rolls down the steps into the yard, wounded though still alive. At the sound of the reports and the savage oaths Mrs. Sahlström comes hurrying up, as also a younger son, Ragnar, only dressed in his night-clothes. As soon as he shows himself he, too, is saluted by a volley and falls down beside his brother's body. Three bayonet thrusts put an end to his life. The murderers now rush into the house and there find the two youngest boys, the eldest fifteen years old. A gun is raised against him, but the despairing mother has time to throw herself between, and the bullet misses him. A thorough search of the house is now begun, and with revolvers directed against their breasts the boys are ordered to confess where arms were concealed." There were none. Then the men went out. Mrs. Sahlström asked them to help her to carry in the bodies of her two murdered sons lying in a pool of blood in the yard. But the men only laughed, and when she asked them to remove themselves from out of her sight, they declared that they intended to stay and "guard the house." Against whom?

The strike lasted a week. In this short time the Red Guard Force for the Maintenance of Order murdered thirty-four persons. But besides these there were many wounded, and several of the persons arrested were severely beaten in prison. At the house-searches and by the sequestration of various kinds of goods very great values were lost. Articles of gold and silver disappeared, wine cellars were plundered. At Turku the funds of the food control committee, 60,000 marks, were stolen, and sugar to the value of 200,000 was distributed among "the revolutionary people."

The general strike was brought to an end when it was found that it did not lead to any actual result. It had been a warning echo of the Bolshevik revolution in St. Petersburg, but it had been started in the wrong way by the official insistence on certain claims on

Government and Lantdag. In order that these claims might be fulfilled the latter institutions had to function, whereas the aim of a real revolution would, of course, be their downfall. So the strike ended with the declaration that the "valiant Red Guard of the Laboring Class shall always be maintained as an organization" and that "the Revolution continues." In the journal of the Red Guard at Tampere the situation after the general strike is designated as an "armistice," during which the Guard is to be reorganized and put into good fighting condition.

One or two things seem to indicate that the revolution strike was organized at the instance of Russia. Lenin and his friends were not yet secure in their seats at St. Petersburg, and, on the other hand, they had their warmest adherents among the sailors in the Baltic fleet at Helsinki. If the Bolsheviks had been forced to leave the Russian capital, Helsinki would therefore have been an eminently suitable retreat. It is not improbable — certain features of the preparation for the strike lends support to this idea — that Finland's soil was to be prepared for making Helsinki a safe headquarter for Bolshevism. From this place the work for the world revolution could be directed just as well as, or better than, from St. Petersburg. Still, this is a conjecture which at least for the present cannot be proved.

When the strike broke out the country was without any supreme State power, and the Government had resigned. The treasury was empty, and the food crisis had reached a crucial point. Free Finland did not find herself in any enviable position. As soon as the Lantdag had assumed the supreme power it had to choose a government. The Labor Party proposed an unmixed "Red" senate. This would, however, presuppose that a general pardon was to be granted for the crimes perpetrated during the week of the strike. As this was a condition impossible to fulfill, a purely Loyalist government was elected with Mr. Svinhufvud at the head.

At this time there was much talk of a split within the ranks of the Labor Party. It was said that some of its more important members were beginning to lose their enthusiasm for the Russian anarchy,

and to realize that the social revolution of the Bolsheviks, extended to Finland, would mean the destruction of Finland. And undoubtedly there were signs that the week of the strike, with its experience and consequences that so little benefited the party, had sobered down several persons. But this fact could lead to no result now the Red Guard had once for all been let loose, and the continuance of the revolution proclaimed. Those who could not go to this length had to content themselves with silence or faint protests and retreat. In spite of a opposition majority in the Lantdag, and a purely moderate government, in spite of the scruples of the Socialists themselves, the country had now been delivered up to the two great anarchist and terrorist organizations, the now disbanded Russian army and the corps of the Finnish Red Guard.

The first task of the Government was to take measures for the re-establishment of order. It was met by almost insuperable obstacles. The force for the maintenance of order, the police, had, as stated before, disappeared, and in its place was found a local red militia dependent on the Labor Party. This militia was very soon forced to a complete submission to all the demands of the Red Guard. It was therefore necessary to establish a new force, a force for the maintenance of order that would be independent of all parties, a national militia. Before the problem of this strong force for the maintenance of order could be solved — and its solution in the Lantdag on positive lines became the signal for the outbreak of the insurrection in January — the Protective Corps had to be strengthened and armed. The already mentioned police school near Borga had been stormed during the week of the strike by a large force of Red Guards and Russian sailors, the men had fled, the kitchen staff had been murdered, the horses stolen.*

* The horses causing the Red Guard a deal of trouble, a good way of getting rid of them was hit upon later on: it was proposed that the Government should buy them!

A fresh beginning had to be made, and Österbotten was chosen as the center for the new organization.

But the Government had other equally important problems to solve. The independence of Finland had to be secured, food to be procured, and finances to be restored. The field of work was extensive, it all took time, and the Red Finns and their comrades, the Russians, could therefore continue their activity undisturbed.

It became one of the chief tasks of the Red Guard after the strike to protect its felonious members against all designs on the part of the force for the maintenance of order. In this they were very successful. None of the murderers or robbers from the strike were caught; only an unfortunate thief was twice arrested by detectives and twice forcibly rescued by his comrades. Each time he was liberated he scolded them soundly because they had not made more haste. Likewise the gains of the revolution were defended by retaining the prisoners in jail. The district magistrates at Turku and Helsinki were each in his separate cell. At Turku the Red had also taken possession of the lower and higher courts which were thus prevented from working. But a new branch of activity soon flourished for the corps of the Red Guard. From the local representatives in town and country they claimed compensation for the maintenance of order during the strike! At Turku a claim of half a million was lodged, with the threat of plundering the city if the money were not forthcoming. The money was advanced — worse luck! At Helsinki the amount was one million, at Tampere only 100,000 etc. In like manner, the workingmen began to demand full pay from their employers for the strike days. It was extortion on a grand scale.

Such was the condition of affairs when the month of December came.

December

Immediately on the morning of the 1st the newspaper readers had a fresh sensation: Seven armed men in plain clothes had escorted two vans packed full of firearms across the frontier; they prevented all examination, failed to show any papers whatever, but saw to it that the vans reached their destination — the towns Kuopio and Lahti, where the contents were unloaded and taken to the houses of the

working-men's club in the charge of a guard. This was the first of the many batches of firearms which arrived from Russia in the course of the month. The corps of the Red Guard had tasted blood, and the rifles they had employed during the general strike had for the greater part been borrowed of the Russians, and had to be given back again. Instead, the kind Russian Bolsheviks, who in meeting after meeting had proclaimed the principle of self-determination for the peoples, and specially laid stress upon the right of Finland to full independence being as plain as day, now sent any amount of weapons and ammunition to the corps of the Red Guard, whose task it was to crush the Finnish parties which were really in earnest about the right of self-determination. The customs and railway authorities lodged one objection after another but could do nothing, as they lacked all means of power. Thus the Russians distributed arms to the corps of the Red Guard throughout the country. Not only rifles and cartridges arrived, but also machine-guns — at the very least about a hundred. As the Russian military were besides provided with a lot of cannon, and to all intents and purposes they identified themselves with the Red, it was only natural that all sensible citizens looked to the future with anxiety.

In an excess of optimism it was, however, hoped that the alteration of the external position of the country would also carry along with it a fortunate solution of the internal problems. On the 4th December the Government solemnly, in the Lantdag, declared Finland to be an independent, neutral State. The Foreign Powers would be immediately communicated with in order to obtain recognition of her independence, and, with regard to the relations with Russia, this question would be submitted to the Russian Constituent Assembly on its meeting. If Finland's emancipation from Russia was once acknowledged, it was the general opinion that the departure of the Russian troops from Finland would come about of its own accord. And as the Bolsheviks were laboring to secure an early peace, and had commenced the demobilization of the army immediately after the armistice, it looked as if the stay of the Russian military in Finland was not going to be of any great length. If the military again took its departure it would no longer be an impossibility to restore

order in the country. When the corps of the Red Guard were deprived of their strongest support, they were sure to return to sense.

Thus it was argued under the influence of the bright prospects shown by foreign affairs. But the acts of violation were continued. On the 4th December the City Council at Tampere were locked in by great crowds of workingmen who demanded higher wages, and refused to let the council disperse before their demands were granted. After being imprisoned for a day and a night under threats and bawling, the besieged were released. One of them was, however, wounded with a knife as he went away. It is a characteristic fact that as the besiegers, consisting of all sorts of vagabonds, formerly laborers at the fortification works, had not carried out their action with the permission of the Red Guard, the latter determined at a meeting to take the city council under its protection in its character of maintainer of order. After a short debate, the Guard is quite clear as to what shape the "protection" should take. The Red Guard undertakes to liberate the prisoners if they will consent to the conditions of the workingmen. But if they do not, the Red Guard will consider their function as members of the city council as suspended, and they will not be allowed to hold any meetings unless the Red Guard gives its consent. At the same meeting the militia (police) corps of the city declares that it wishes to co-operate with the Guard in all respects, and that it will discard all "untrustworthy" elements from its midst. The workingmen at Tampere demanded full pay later on for the two days they had kept the city council locked up.

Next came the turn of the city council at Vyborg. They were locked up for one night. Then the city fathers of Kotka. Against these latter proceedings were carried on in another way. A crowd of workingmen sought them out in their homes, and forcibly conveyed them to a meeting in the city hall. Here they were to grant the Red Guard 150,000 marks at once. This took place on the 6th December. Already on the 9th the militia corps had declared a strike, so that the city had no police force. Until the evening of the 12th the prisoners received no food. All factories in the town had stopped, and all

Government offices suspended their activities as a counter-move. Red Guards and Russian soldiers were on guard, searched houses and made arrests. On account of the threatening situation, the city council at last acceded to the demands of the Red and were liberated.

On the 13th the city council at Björneborg were locked in, and liberated on the 14th.

This kind of farce was played all over the country, and the course it took was entirely dependent on how quick the threatened authorities were in acceding to the demands of the Red. But mob-rule reached its culminating point at Turku. In this town the co-operation between the Red Finns and the Russians had all the time been specially intimate, and the elements of pure hooliganism had also been amply represented. The population of the town which had experienced an endless succession of threats and outrages groaned heavily under the yoke of terrorism, and showed signs of despair. They had taken over the police force and formed their own "militia." As the latter was of more than doubtful worth, the authorities of the town naturally wished to put in a word on the subject, but the Red would not agree to this. As their demands had been twice granted, but new demands were constantly forthcoming, the authorities thought it might now be reasonable to refuse and to propose a conference. This proposal was answered by the striking of the militia, and with a sufficiently plain threat that the state of the city would be made so unsafe that the effects could not be foreseen. On Saturday the 5th December the militia was withdrawn, and Sunday evening the mob was sent to show what could be arranged if desired. Riotous crowds, among them many Russian soldiers, swarmed towards the middle of the town, and began to loot the shops. The large plate glass shop windows were smashed, the fixtures destroyed, and the goods dragged off in sacks and bundles, on handbarrows, or in any way that suggested itself. This uproar kept on all night, and the militia-men rejoiced in their successful strike. On the Monday the Red Guard took possession of the post office, the banks, etc. In the evening the looting frenzy continued. In the course of Tuesday

Russian dragoon patrols interfered — it is stated: Ukrainians — and restored order in the course of the next day and night, much shooting.

The Labor Party, of course, dissociated itself from events at Turku, and declared that they were provoked by the citizens themselves. Against this may be adduced what the soldiers at Turku communicate in their own paper. In this it is said: "The Soldiers' Executive Committee knew beforehand what would happen, but on account of a private communication from the Finnish Revolutionary Committee no measures were taken."

Thus also the month of December passed in violent unrest and under unlimited mob-rule; we have only been able to report a few of the most sensational events here. The Red bands harried the country, the Russian bands harried the country, no resistance could be offered nor any effective defense set up. A couple of examples of some aspects of the activity of the Red, which have not yet been touched upon, may complete the picture. The Red Guard, which thought itself that it had a great task to accomplish, of course felt painfully the manner in which the Loyalist newspapers exposed its doings. At a public meeting held by the Red Guard at Tampere on the 29th November, the style of writing of the papers is sharply blamed and the assembly decide to administer a warning as "the papers cannot be stopped now during the armistice." Two weeks later Russian soldiers forbid the appearance of a Tampere paper as it had contained a paragraph stating that not all Russian soldiers in Finland are Bolsheviks. This is plainly enough felt as an outrage upon their honor. The staff of the Red Guard deal with this curious judgment and resolve that the Russians can do as they like, stop the paper or not, according to their pleasure. A peculiar view of the liberty of speech and the independence of Finland!

Another occurrence. In the middle of December seven goods vans arrived from St. Petersburg, sealed and guarded by armed men of the Red Guard. They contained spirits for technical use — it was said — and went as military goods. At Helsinki, where the vans were

to be unloaded, the authorities interfered so energetically that the unloading did not come off, but no more did the customs examination. The vans stood in the station, guarded both by Red Guards and custom-house officers. There were rumors abroad: was it firearms, explosives, or what? The riddle was soon solved and the contents of the vans proved to be actually spirits, i.e., 1,296 cases of Russian spirits purchased in Russia by the English Legation and designed for the English Red Cross. The cases had disappeared from the custom-house office at St. Petersburg. The Reds at Helsinki thus missed their stolen Christmas liquor, and these ardent teetotalers, who poured away all spirits they found in their house searches, at Turku in the week of the strike alone 30,000 liters, now had to go sober all the holidays.

January

While this marauding was continued round about in the country, the Government labored at obtaining recognition of Finland's independence. In the first days of January the goal was very nearly reached; the Bolshevik government in Russia had acknowledged the country's independence, so had Germany, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark and Norway. This fact, as well as the peace conference in Brest-Litovsk, which revealed the utter impotence of Russia, influenced the situation in Finland. It was necessary for the Labor Party to take a stand upon the subject. Either the full development of free Finland to a Western State emancipated from Russian dependence and Russian anarchy, or a Finland continually whirling round in the maelstrom of the Russian revolution, sinking into an Eastern chaos, into a gulf of anarchy and terrorism. The party chose the latter alternative. It was the natural consequence of its previous activity and of Russian pressure. But it could not have sunk into the arms of Bolshevism if it had let itself be guided by fairly reasonable views and not by the two powerful passions which now quite blinded it: lust of power and hubris. The party subordinated itself to the plans of the Russian Bolsheviks, though reluctantly in certain quarters.

These latter were no secret. The formula of the self-determination of nations threatened Russia with destruction. And the peace with Germany was soon to establish the fact that the vassals which had emancipated themselves were politically independent. Undoubtedly Lenin's whole policy was directed towards preventing such a national disaster to Russia. And the means he employed was the social revolution of the world. It was to keep hold of the provinces within the boundaries of the Russian Empire which, without being occupied by the troops of the Central Powers, were now wandering their own ways. The same course was taken in the Ukraine, Estonia, and Finland. The Bolsheviks intended to monopolize the power, if in no other way, by force. In this way these states would again become attached to Russia. For even if no separate nations existed to the Bolsheviks, even if they formed an international proletariat, yet they had one center and one chief: St. Petersburg and Lenin. The mighty Russian dreams of conquest here appeared in a new garb. The conquest of the world which so many high strung Russian souls had imagined in the time of Tsarism, now cropped up again in a new shape: a proletariat world dictatorship under Russian leadership. If this dim goal was not reached, what had formerly constituted the Russian Empire should at least be retained under the Russian scepter — the scepter of the Russian proletariat.

Now, as regards Finland specially, we see the tendencies of Bolshevism reflected in some observations from this time. At a congress in St. Petersburg on the 5th December 1917, Lenin says:

> "Let the bourgeoisie despicably and pitiably quarrel over and bargain about the frontiers. The workingmen in all countries and of all nationalities will not let themselves be divided for so paltry a reason. We are just about to conquer Finland."

This is indeed plain speaking. Finland may emancipate herself from Russia as much as she likes, it will not influence the laborers. Thanks to them the Russian Bolsheviks reconquer the country and so "self-determination" is disposed of.

On the 19th December the official Bolshevik organ at Helsinki has the following item: "There is one thing the bourgeoisie have not realized, that self-determination of the nations is conceivable if only the bourgeois upper class power be crushed." That is to say that self-determination is a delusion, for when the "bourgeois upper class power" is replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat, there will be no nations any more, only classes.

When finally the Bolshevik Government acknowledged the independence of Finland, it was, as one of its members, and telegraph minister Proschjan, expressly declares, trusting that it will not be long before the proletariat of Finland begins the fight of the revolution and takes the reins of its country into its own hands." This "trust" was plainly based on a promise, given by the Finnish Labor Party, before the independence was acknowledged by the Bolshevik Government. This promise was apparently the reason why the acknowledgment was granted at all.

The position of the Labor Party was, however, most difficult. The activities of the Loyalist government had so far succeeded, the independence of Finland had been acknowledged, and now the leaders could turn with greater energy upon the interior anarchy, and particularly upon its most essential cause: the Russian troops. The demand that these should be at once withdrawn could now be proffered with greater force after even the Bolsheviks' own government had acknowledged the independence of Finland. And it required a lot of Russian evasions about "a general plan of evacuation" and all sorts of vague phrases about the necessity of "defending the roads to St. Petersburg, the heart of the revolution, against German imperialism," in order to hold out against the well-founded and peremptory demand of the Finnish Government that the rogue troops should be withdrawn. But deprived of these Russian soldiers the position of the Labor Party was not of course very strong.

On the other hand the Red Guard caused its party anxiety. Its ravages and looting, its growing interference in all concerns, the

arbitrary seizures of all the stores of the food regulation authorities which it indulged in, in short, the complete terrorism it practiced, could not strengthen the "cause of the revolution." According to the statutes of the Guard it ought to be under the complete control of the party leaders. These latter, after the November strike, made attempts to purge the ranks of the army at least to some slight extent, and particularly to render it an obedient instrument in the hands of the party. But the Red Guard approached nearer and nearer to the age of majority. It was now very well armed and its relations with the Russians were so intimate that it knew exceedingly well the meaning of "an independent fighting organization" after the Russian model. It strove to emancipate itself from the party. But such an emancipation would really mean that the Red Guard took over the leadership in the party, for who would dare to oppose its unscrupulous armed force?

The meeting of the Red Guard on the 6th January, which was the introduction to the palace revolution, took a characteristic course. Some Russian "comrades" from St. Petersburg appeared before a crowded hall, explaining the course of the revolution in Russia, and at the same time expressing their surprise at the tame revolutionary movement in Finland which was especially doubtful and faltering during the November strike. The Russians gave it as their opinion that the party leaders at Helsinki were not truly revolutionary. These utterances were received with a storm of applause. A proposal for new statutes was now submitted and was carried immediately.

A comparison between the old and the new statutes shows what the purpose was, viz.: to place the leadership of the "continuing revolution" in the hands of the Red Guard. This would afford security against the contingency that some poor cowards among the party leaders would prevent extreme measures against the citizens which it would perhaps be "forced" to adopt. Whereas the first paragraph of the old statutes quite innocently stated that "it is the business of the Guard to protect the laborers' liberties of association, assembly, and press, and on the whole to serve as a protection to the rights of the laborers," this clause in the new statutes has received the following addition: "*and to act as an retributive revolutionary force for the aims*

of the laborers." In the new statutes the second paragraph is quite new. It runs: "The Red Guard obey the commands issued by the General Staff of the Guard. If during the revolution another revolutionary institution, local or embracing the whole country, should arise, the political power will pass over to the latter." In the old Statutes the following decision is made with regard to the supreme administration of the Guard: "The administration of the Guard embracing the whole country is constituted by a management committee of five, whose members are elected and removed by the party leaders and the leaders of the Co-operating Trade Unions at a general meeting." Now it is said: "At the head of the Red Guard of the whole country is a Commander-in-Chief elected by the representative meeting of the Guard, and a General Staff. The latter consists of eight members, out of which the Party Leaders and the Leaders of the Co-operative Trade Unions each elect two, and the Representative Meeting of the Guard, four."

By these and other similar decisions the Red Guard was freed from the oversight of the party. It now proceeded to take over the leadership of the revolution entirely. Uncertain and faltering the choragi of the party looked on at this advance of the most violent elements. It is a typical fact that they dared not utter a single manly word of warning, but wriggled through the difficulties with vague phrases. How completely they had actually been forced to submit to the power of the Guard is proved by the fact that, already several days before the outbreak of the insurrection, the party's representatives in the Lantdag had been forbidden to leave Helsinki without a written permit from the chief of the Red Guard.

To everyone in the Labor Party who was not blinded by hatred of the their fellow countrymen and lust of power it must be plain that a revolution in Finland would be utter madness. With the power it commanded in parliament the party might carry through almost any reforms and had, as before mentioned, already got some extremely radical bills passed while others were on the table. The demand for a Constituent Assembly was devoid of all sense, as the country's parliament might be considered as such, and as it had been seen

how the good party comrades, the Bolsheviks, had dissolved their National Assembly in Russia. The only point on which the loyalist coalition insisted inexorably was the question of Finland being drawn into the gaping maw of the Russian revolution. The most primitive instinct of self-preservation was sufficient to tell one that the only way the country ought not to choose was just the way the Red Guard Corps were going.

And to the more experienced men among the leaders of the Labor Party, too, Finland's immersion in the Russian revolution really looked like a very serious matter. The condition of affairs in Finland was too different from that in Russia for any possibility of carrying through the program of the social revolution of the Bolsheviks in Finland. In the first place there could not be any question of "nationalizing" the land in a country with a very large class of free-holding peasantry. So Finland was to take part in the Russian revolution, and yet not take any real part in it — so vague was the program, so great the vacillation. These vague feelings among the leaders of the party, the conviction that the Red Guard had usurped the power, fear of the consequences, the realization of the fact that a social revolution was impossible in Finland, besides the terror of being either a participant or a non-participant — all this is plainly reflected in a lengthy article by Yrjö, the future minister for foreign affairs in the Government of the rebels, published on the 12th January. In many columns he first proves the slight prospect of a social revolution in Finland before such a revolution has taken place in the countries that are the chief strongholds of the capitalist system, and then goes on to say:—

> "But though we are of opinion that we shall not in the near future be drawn into any social revolution, yet the situation may develop into revolution. The class conflict which now shows itself in the clash in local disputes, in quarrels over sheriffs' offices — even in an armed guerilla war — may perhaps soon come to a head in a decisive struggle for the power. It is plain to everybody that the state of affairs will be unendurable when the interior situation grows worse and worse. Only the hooligans

> and the instigators of the reaction will derive any benefit from the spread of anarchy in this country. But order may be established either in a "lawful" or a revolutionary way."

The lawful way is that of the party accepting a proposal submitted by the Government to the Lantdag for the establishment of a police force independent of the parties. The revolutionary way is that of the party overthrowing the Government.

Sirola continues:— "As I understand it there are now elements within our party that wish for such an appropriation of the governing power, and other elements that have no special desire for it. But above the question whether any of us wish this or not, stands necessity. The situation may develop in such a way that we must at least make an attempt. The conviction that this is so may become so general that both the Party Council and the Lantdag group will share it. But above all the workingmen themselves ought to have a clear understanding of the matter. In each commune they should find out whether they can obtain the power there. In each district the district secretary and the leaders should calculate the extension of our power and that of our opponents. Everywhere the workingmen should try to realize in what sort of a position such an attempt might place us."

The writer thereupon quotes a bit from Marx, and goes on to say:— The most important principle is that one must not play with rebellion. We must therefore be quite clear beforehand as to what we want. According to the opinion of the undersigned the following propositions must be regarded as the foundation of all that is done in this direction.

1. That no attempt be made at a social revolution and that the supervision of the production and business generally be not interfered with in greater measure than is necessary in order to live — that is to say, in the same measure as a civil state is obliged to interfere, especially in time of war and a state of general distress.

2. That decisive measures, e.g., against the Lantdag, be not taken before the great bulk of our party is convinced of the necessity of

proceeding to such. If this is not the case the revolutionaries may form agitation groups in furtherance of the work for the promotion of knowledge which they desire, but without breaking the common front which must be kept unbroken against the reaction. If, on the other hand, some groups are not satisfied with this, but intend under any circumstances whatever to proceed to action, they should quit the party and form their own organization. It will then know its own extent and strength, and may decide when the moment has come for it to proceed to action.

3. No action should be taken which completely isolates the proletariat in such an undertaking. By this I mean that the lower middle class and the small farmers or, on the whole, people in humbler circumstances should not be irritated so that they go against us."

The writer concludes: "Above all we need courage. The undersigned is not one of the bravest of men, but every one must now add his stone to the building, for the state of affairs is serious."

No, Mr. Sirola was not one of the bravest of men. He wanted to warn, but dared not. He wanted to turn the Red Guard out of the party so that it should not have the worst of it in the event of a defeat, but he dared not do so openly. He speaks of coming to "a clear understanding of the situation," but by this he means that an estimate is to be made of the strength of both sides.

The psychological moment for a powerful opposition to the revolutionary tendencies within the party should now have come. But nothing was seen but Mr. Sirola's irresolute and pitiable article. And already on the 15th January the party leaders have retired altogether behind the ranks of the Red Guard Corps.

On that day the latter issues an appeal under the following headlines. Select pieces of the appeal run as follows:—

Gather the Forces of the Proletariat!

The Senate intends to fall upon the Laborers with Slaughtering Forces!

> "The bourgeois majority of the Lantdag has given its Senate unrestricted authority to exercise a dictatorship of violence." Furthermore, "the dissatisfied proletariat is threatened with swords and lead, whereas it ought to have bread, democracy and the crofters' emancipation." "The working-men's Red Guard Corps are evidently absolutely necessary for the protection of Finland's Labor class in these days." And continues, "at the last party meeting of the Social-Democratic Party there was not one who proposed to dissolve this Guard, or that the workingmen should deliver up their arms. Therefore, let the bourgeois, who now scoff at the whole working-men's guard, and the Senate who wish to proceed to attack with an armed force, let them know that this would be to attack the working class of all Finland. Against such a threat the workingmen must strengthen their Guard Corps."

The appeal is an answer to a resolution passed the day before by the officers of the Red Guard. In this the Red Guard demand the immediate summoning of a party meeting and put forward a succession of demands in connection with the shortage of food, unemployment, etc. "In order that these ends may be gained, the political power should be taken over by the Social-Democratic Party. Before measures are taken to put the governing power into the hands of our party, the supreme administration of the Guard ought to be given over to a committee chosen in accordance with the statutes. If the situation demand it, the supreme command of the Guard should take the management of the revolution into its hands."

The revolution was thus decided upon by the Red Guard, and the Labor Party had submitted to the decision. The reason for this was simple enough. The Government and the majority in the Lantdag threatened to deprive the Red Guard of its power. Such a thing must not happen, and so the problem could only be solved in one way. The Government must be overthrown.

When in November the Lantdag resolved to take over the supreme power itself, no definite line was drawn between the spheres of activity of the Government and the Lantdag. The chief of the Government, Mr. Svinhufvud, had, however, expressly emphasized, when he assumed office, that the ability of the Government to carry out any work at all would, of course, be subject to its obtaining such rights as pertain to the Government of a country. As such he mentions among other things the right of bringing in Bills before the Lantdag and of nominating certain higher officials. However, the Labor Party, of course, made an extensive use of the possibilities for opposition which the obscurity with regard to the competence of the Government and the Parliament gave rise to. Everything the Government did without asking leave of the Lantdag was at once branded as an "attempt at a State stroke." Even such measures as a resolution to alter the size of the copper coins was an "attempt at a State stroke."

By such means the Labor Party had succeeded in making its party members believe that the Government, and the majority in the Lantdag upon which it leaned, consisted of a collection of autocrats who abused their power in a shameful manner — a power which had been treacherously wrenched from the people. Measures displeasing to the Labor Party now followed in rapid succession. At the beginning of January a Bill was brought in by A. Mikkola and others, concerning the re-establishment of the country's army, and it was supported by the Loyalist groups. There was nothing singular in this — a new-born State in the critical position of Finland absolutely needed an army, however small, in order to support her first tottering steps towards liberty. The Labor Party, however, did what they could to stop the Bill. Furthermore, a parliamentary committee were working at a proposal for the reorganization of the police, which it had been attempted to make acceptable to the Labor Party by letting the force be under the commune. On the 9th January the Government finally sent the Lantdag a proposal for the establishment of a strong force for the maintenance of order, under the control of the Government, to put a stop to the anarchy in the country. As this proposal has been characterized by the Labor Party

as an undisguised challenge and declaration of war, there may be some reason to print it here in its entirety. The proposal runs as follows:—

To Finland's Lantdag.

After long-continued sore trials and sufferings our country has attained political independence and freedom. But the interior situation of the country does not in any way answer to even the most primitive foundation for or claims of such a free position. The necessary order does not reign in the country, neither as regards the life, property and rights of our own fellow-countrymen, or those of the numerous foreigners living here. The daily statements, both of the authorities concerned, and the foreign representatives, and the papers, speak of this in the plainest terms. This very day there have been bloody encounters in the near neighborhood of the city between the so-called Red Guard of Helsinki and the peaceful population, provoked by the former, in which even lives have been lost. Anarchist elements, newly arrived from Russia, have come to stay here, and are acting quite overtly and with violence, sowing the seed of revolution and anarchy among such elements among the Russian soldiers garrisoned here as were already beforehand somewhat restive. The state of affairs grows every moment more and more serious, and, within a short space of time, will throw our country into complete anarchy if an improvement of circumstances does not soon take place. The police, which at least in the larger cities of the country, after the revolution in Russia last March and owing to communications received from there, were organized as a militia partly through the Labor organizations and partly by the exertions of communal organizations, have not been able to counteract or suppress the arbitrariness or criminal tendencies reigning in several places in the land, nor are they equal to their task, nor is the training of the militia satisfactory. There are even cities where the Red Guard have taken possession of the police stations without themselves taking measures, or permitting others to take

> measures, for the maintenance of order. In the opinion of the Senate, a militia of this kind, which cannot accomplish its task, is inadequate — even if some improvements may be made on the lines indicated in the proposal forwarded to the Lantdag. Beyond this, and for its completion, a capable, trustworthy and resolute corps for the maintenance of order is required. This is needed at once, both on account of the above-mentioned lamentable internal situation, as well as on account of the pressure put on the Government by numerous foreign powers, particularly England and Sweden, in consequence of the indignities the subjects of these countries residing in Finland have been exposed to.

In consequence of what is stated above, the Senate has considered itself called upon, by the actual circumstances, to proceed without fail to measures for the establishment of such an effective and unimpeachable Finnish Corps for the Maintenance of Order, which could be trusted to maintain order and security in the land.

These measures will, of course, involve considerably greater expenses than it has been customary to assign for the maintenance of the police. The Government does not see its way, and has not considered it necessary at the present time, to suggest what means will be required for the organization and support of a reinforced corps for the maintenance of order, but will give information on this point in the proposals submitted to the Lantdag concerning expenditure and revenues for the year 1918.

In view of what has been stated, and as the Government for the above-mentioned purpose will need more funds than usual, the Government expects, "That the Lantdag will decide to authorize the Government to take all such measures as it deems necessary to build up a strong force for the maintenance of order in this country." The motion had every prospect of being carried in the Lantdag, the Labor Party, however, did as much as they could to delay the decision, and in the meanwhile to arm their Red Guard, for the state of affairs now began to be threatening. The proposal of the

Government would in reality mean that the Protective Corps spread throughout the country were now to be changed into a Government Police Corps, whose activity could not be opposed with impunity. The proper moment for such a reorganization seemed at last to have come. What with the renewed livelier action of the Red Guard, and the growing resentment against the encroachments of the criminal elements, disorderly encounters with arms were to be feared all over the country. It would thus be much better if all the good intentions to wipe out the anarchy were placed under one uniform guidance, even if one incurred the risk of what one would not have liked to risk before — civil war.

The outlines of an actual situation of war became more and more clearly defined. In the course of the first ten days of January the Red Guard carried out several large operations. They gave orders for 300 Russian soldiers to go to Nyslott. They arrived by special train, and began to ravage the little town. The subordinate functionaries were arrested, house-searches were made, robberies committed, etc. The district magistrate at Helsinki who walked out of the prison one day and took up his official duties again, received a visit from some Red Guardsmen, who declared that within forty-eight hours he must be outside the precincts of the district of Nyland, or they would not answer for his safety.

— The Government received a written communication from the Red Guard, in which the dismissal of the district magistrate of Turku and Uleaborg was demanded — or the Guard would proceed to "active measures." The building formerly used as a residence by the Governor-General, at Helsinki, and now made use of by the Social Department,* was coolly taken possession of one fine day by the Red Guard that needed spacious rooms in a central position for their headquarters.

*An institution for social affairs working under the Home Office.

— One morning a considerable number of armed Red Guardsmen "borrowed" a train in the station at Helsinki, departed to the nearest stations on the main line, took possession of them, and sent a

division of sixty men to an adjacent, larger, village in the parish of Sibbo to plunder. Resistance was, however, offered, the Red were fired at by the peasants, lost a couple of men, and retired. In the Labor Press this was characterized as murder committed on peaceful workingmen by the citizens.

— At Vyborg great crowds of roughs collected from Turku, Helsinki, and St. Petersburg, because the militia threatened to strike, and because it seemed as if there would be an opportunity for plundering. At Frederikshamn, where a number of sempstresses had struck, the Red Guard thought that the demands of the strikers were not complied with quickly enough.

They therefore, with the assistance of Russian soldiers, arrested all the Government officials of the town, and took them to the lock-up. When the Red had kept them there for one night it was thought that they would be sufficiently humbled, and now a lot of demands were made: the city was to grant the Red Guard 50,000 marks for the maintenance of order. Not until the evening, when they had gone without food for a night and a day, and been subject to the wildest threats, did the prisoners submit.

— At Mariehamn on Åland Russian soldiers shot one person, wounded one, and illegally arrested three.

Those were only the greater occurrences. Innumerable lesser ones took place at the same time. But also the Protective Corps began to stir. The failure of the marauding expedition to Sibbo gave the Protective Corps in these parts occasion for stationing guards along the railway line, etc. In Österbotten there were signs that the new Government force, which was mainly being organized there, began to excite a wholesome respect among the Russian soldiers. The general feeling in all sensible circles began to be more optimistic. Perhaps anarchy could really be crushed, perhaps the threats hurled out by the adherents of the Labor Party in the Lantdag when the Force for the Maintenance of Order was at last sanctioned after a hot debate lasting eighteen hours, perhaps they were only an outbreak of impotent fury at the defeat of the party.

And yet these hopes were again dashed. The Labor Party got into closer and closer relations with the Russian soldiers, and the behavior of the latter became more and more lawless. The more time that passed the more sick and tired the soldiers got of all meetings, speeches, and demonstrations. They wanted to arrange everything for their own greatest convenience. Thus, e.g., the sailors of the Baltic fleet had several really first-class places of entertainment at their disposal. At St. Petersburg they had seized two very large and very fine Imperial steam-yachts, the "Standard" and the "Polar Star," and taken them to Helsinki, and they had purchased one of the largest and most fashionable hotels in the city with a theater, etc., and made it into a sailor's club. Balls were given at the barracks, and several of the lady guests lived for weeks and months in the barracks. All sorts of new organizations were formed. Thus an anarchist club took up its quarters in the fine officers' casino, and hung out its flag there — a skull with crossbones on a black ground. One night two bombs were thrown against the building; it was apparently some super-anarchist organization at work. One society called itself terrorists, and their banner was red with a black star in the middle. They also got a fine house for themselves, the Russian harbor captain's, and a couple of motor cars (and I may insert here that motoring was one of the greatest pleasures of the proletariat) and advertised for members. The program ran: "war against imperialism in all the world, not a life struggle, but a struggle to the death."

These examples show how far removed the Russian military were from all order and discipline, and yet the Labor Party opposed their departure from the country, yet the party held a banquet in honor of liberty together with the soldiers on the occasion of Finlands' independence, inviting the soldiers on the grounds that the Finnish working-man's place is by the side of the soldiers, not by that of the ordinary Finn.

And so events took their course. The Labor Party would not let go the power they held by the aid of the mob and troops of Russian soldiers, while all those who had not been drawn into the whirlwind

of anarchy now prepared in real earnest to beat down this loathsome regime that infested the country like a plague. Some acts of violence were still committed. In the middle of January the Red committed two murders, while the soldiers, sometimes in uniform but with masks before their faces, sometimes furnished with cotton saturated with chloroform, committed robbery and pillage. At Turku the Red had chosen for their headquarters a navigation school lying on a hill, and taken possession of it without ceremony; at Kaskö the soldiers celebrated the Russian new year by seizing upon 400 liters of brandy from a bonded warehouse, making themselves drunk on it and fighting. They did not settle down until they had two killed and several wounded.

Soon the state of affairs becomes very critical. The Red take up the offensive in real earnest in order to draw out the Protective Corps and then destroy them. On the 21st January two trains with soldiers are sent from St. Petersburg to Österbotten, the center of the Protective Corps, most singular tactics, considering the acknowledged independence of Finland, and the many promises that the soldiers should be withdrawn from the country. And at Vyborg serious disturbances break out.

On Saturday, the 19th January, the Red Finns in that city suddenly surround a factory, and try to break in with a force of 100 men. Seventeen persons, the owner of the factory, his sons and others, offer resistance inside the building. A violent firing ensues. Russian soldiers come flocking to the assistance of the Red, who, at last, on the Sunday morning, succeed in forcing their way into the house and taking captive its defenders, a couple of whom were severely wounded. It had been the intention of the Red to search the factory. The fighting spread in the city, the Red sent out patrols everywhere, and searched all pedestrians. Those who carried arms were arrested. Sunday, Monday and Tuesday passed in comparative quiet, i.e., the Red and the Russians were masters in the city, gave chase to the Protective Corps, instituted house-searches and arrests. The Red took up their quarters in the Russian barracks, and were thus ready to sally forth at any time. On Monday night two

young men, clerks, traveling on business, were murdered just outside the city. In the meanwhile the peasants in the neighborhood had become exasperated, and, on the Tuesday evening, marched into the city under arms, and took possession of the railway station. They met with no resistance, but the Red and the Russians demonstrated their power by opening a lively fire in the central part of the town, both with rifles and machine guns. In order to improve the effect some cannon shot were also fired. Four persons were killed, among them two women. One received a bullet in the abdomen on coming out from the theater, another a bullet in the neck while leaning out of the window to look at the riots. Many were wounded. The peasant Protective Corps received a visit at the station from a deputation of soldiers, who declared that the Corps must retire, or else the city would be shot to ruins by artillery fire. In face of this threat, the Protective Corps thought itself compelled to retire, and the soldiers now took possession of the station.

Wednesday proved a melancholy day. Sixty-eight persons were arrested and taken to the barracks, two prisoners were murdered quite meaninglessly, a commercial traveler, aged thirty-seven, in whose breast a Red Guardsman suddenly planted a bayonet, and a student, aged twenty, who was shot without the least reason. At 12 o'clock in the night the whole city was proclaimed to be in a state of strike. Towards morning two trains arrived from St. Petersburg, one packed full of Russian Red Guardsmen, the other with firearms and ammunition. Referring to a telegram from the Government of Russia, the soldiers demanded that all the Protective Corps should be disarmed, and the arms delivered up to the Red Guard. The latter was then to operate according to the orders of the representative of the Russian Government in Finland, the so-called Rayon Committee.

On the Thursday the strike reigned. At a station near Vyborg two telegraph functionaries had been shot, and the station-master at Vyborg, who had been arrested earlier, was found in his cell with his throat cut, an equally meaningless and cruel murder on a man of fifty. The number of the prisoners was now ninety-three, and the Red "played" kindly with them. Now they had to run the gauntlet of two

rows of Red and Russians, who struck them with the butt ends of their rifles, now they were arranged in rank and file and counted "to see how much shot was needed," etc.

On the last days of the week, from the 24th to the 27th January, the Red held undisputed sway at Vyborg. They marched through the streets, made arrests, and searched houses and committed outrages, as, for instance, when they fired at a sleigh in which a man was taking his wife to the maternity hospital. The man was wounded in the head, the woman in the abdomen, and the child was born directly after. But the movement had now spread through the whole of the country. In the east and the west, in Karelen and Österbotten, the Protective Corps were masters, and quite calmly disarmed smaller Russian and Red divisions. But in the south the Red Finns have been seized by the intoxication of war. They occupy the railway stations, collect arms, beg machine guns and cannon of the Russians. They get all they want, and concentrate their forces round Helsinki. Now the moment for the revolution has come.

During these days the Government labored strenuously at keeping the Russian soldiers outside the conflict. It repeatedly approached the representative of the Russian Government, the Rayon Committee, with written communications, appeals, wishes, and suggestions. The committee were obliging and sympathetic, but did nothing. It evidently seemed quite natural to them that the Russian soldiers harried an independent, neutral country as they did. As nothing helped, the Government at last, on the 25th and the 26th of January, addressed itself directly to the Russian Government by a telegram, and by written communications to the Governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Greece, and by an appeal to the Finnish people. These three documents ran as follows:—

> To the Council of People's Commissioners
>
> During the last days there has been committed murder, incendiarism, and a number of disturbances in several places in Finland, in which soldiers staying here have taken part, not only

by protecting those elements in the people that have caused the disorder, but even by themselves taking part in the acts of violence which it had not been possible to carry into effect without the assistance given by the soldiers. As it has been stated that the deliberate participation of the Russian soldiers herein is said to be founded on directions and orders given by the military authorities, Finland's Government, who consider such behavior on the part of the soldiers as a flagrant violation of Finland's internationally acknowledged independence, have resolved to apply to the Council of People's Commissioners with the demand that the latter will immediately take effective measures for the prevention of the participation of the soldiers in the deeds of violence against Finnish citizens, as well as their further interference in the internal affairs of the country.

The President of the Government, Svinhufvud.

And he then forwards:—

"To the Foreign Powers,"

"Although the Russian Government have, on the 4th instant, officially acknowledged Finland's political independence, no effective measures have yet been taken for the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the country. On the contrary, Russia still supports numerous divisions of troops in Finland which, simultaneously with consuming the scanty food of the country, are not only a hindrance to the maintenance of order and security in the country, but also, in co-operation with the most turbulent elements of the population, commit murder, incendiarism, and other outrages. This circumstance receives its peculiar significance not only by a few misguided soldiers or divisions of soldiers taking part in these crimes, but also by the fact that the representatives of the Russian Government resident here directly contribute to the prolongation of this state of affairs, intolerable to an independent country, by giving permission for the distribution of firearms and ammunition belonging to the Russian State, to the workmen that take part in

the disturbances, and by preventing the establishment of an effective police force obedient to the orders of the Government. Thus, according to communications received by the Government of Finland, the commissioner for military affairs of the Russian Government on the 23rd inst. issued orders for the soldiers stationed at Vyborg to disarm the Protective Corps which had arrived in the city to maintain order, and to arm with their weapons that element among the workingmen which had in those days started sanguinary monster riots in the said city.

Finally, simultaneously with negotiations carried on, it has been orally communicated to the members of the Government by the Sailors' Committee at Helsinki, that the Russian military in this country is interested in carrying out a social revolution in Finland, and for this purpose ready to support the revolutionary bands with arms against the lawful order of society and the Protective Corps that support it.

"As the behavior of the Russian Government is an outrage against Finland as an independent State, the Government of Finland will accordingly bring to the notice of the Powers that have acknowledged Finland's independence their emphatic protest.

On behalf of the Government of Finland,

P. E. Svinhufvud.

Followed by:-

To the People of Finland

The blood of fellow-citizens which has flown during these days forces the Government of this country to appeal to the People.

Our People has recently seen its dearest hopes realized. It has attained political independence which has already been acknowledged by several of the States of Europe. No external

influence will now hinder the Finnish people's possibilities of development. The supreme power in the country is exercised by the Lantdag and the Government responsible to it. Our political, as well as our communal, constitution is democratic.

Unfortunately, there are those who will not rest satisfied with this way of peace, legality and conviction, but proceed by other means in order to reach their goal. Through Russian agency the thought has been spread among our people that in Finland, too, a democratic evolution is only possible through an internal revolution. Such elements among our people, in whom such a thought has been inculcated, have been armed by Russian interlopers, and thus our country has been brought to the verge of civil war. On the part of the military here stationed during these last days, the most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Finland has taken place, revolting outrages against the life, property and liberty of Finnish citizens have been committed. And, what is most to be regretted, some Finnish citizens have on their part incited the Russian troops to this, and together with them raised their weapons against Finnish fellow-citizens, and together with them committed outrages and crimes.

Although they have obtained power from the Lantdag to work for the establishment of a strong police force, the Government of Finland have not the means to maintain peace and order in the country, as long as the Russian troops here resident act as a threat to all peaceful life by supporting the felonious elements in the country.

In view of this the Government of Finland have considered it their duty to enter a protest before the Government of Russia against the interference of the Russian troops garrisoned in Finland in the internal affairs of Finland, and again to demand the withdrawal of these troops from Finnish territory. In like manner the Government have considered it their duty to forward to the Foreign Powers, which have acknowledged our

independence, a note protesting against the presence of the undisciplined Russian troops and against their outrages.

The Government of Finland find it necessary also to appeal to all Finnish fellow-citizens. Only by a determined maintenance of order can we keep our recently acquired independence; disturbances of the order may either entirely destroy the independence and liberty of our people, bring our country under foreign rule, or expose it to dismemberment. Everyone who disturbs the order is a foe to the Finnish people and its independence.

But still more degrading to all our people is the fact that the inhabitants of the country enter into connection with the foreign troops, and together with them commit outrages against their own fellow-citizens. Such behavior is a crime against the people of Finland, and at the same time a crime against the whole order of society. They are directed against the Lantdag, which holds the supreme power in our country. If such behavior gains the day our people will disappear from the ranks of the peoples of culture, the State of Finland from among the lawfully ordered States.

The distress of our native country forces us to appeal to you all. We hope that every Finnish citizen will at the present moment be ready for the sacrifices that may be required by the threatened position of our country and our people, of each individually and all in common. The aim of the concerted endeavors of all should wholly and solely be the maintenance of civil peace. In no circumstances can inflammatory acts or reprisals be allowed, nor any private action opposed to the regulations of the Force for the Maintenance of Order.

Fellow-citizens! Join hands in order to protect the peace of your homes, the life of those nearest and dearest to you, property, personal liberty, and inviolability. To maintain order is to defend the independence and the future of the Finnish People.

"The Senate of Finland."

But the leaders of the Labor Party? Did they not return to their senses at the last moment? Even if they could no longer stop the advance of the Red gangs, could they not at least keep aloof, warn and protest? They did nothing of all this. Quite the opposite. On the 24th January the Party Council issue a proclamation to the Russian soldiers, the chief contents of which in all their bombast run as follows:—

"Russian Comrades!

"From the bourgeois of our country a constant provocative agitation and a stream of filth have during the last months been directed against the Russian revolutionary military garrisoned in Finland. This agitation has exasperated the Russians as well as their Finnish comrades. The revolutionary democracy of Finland and its organizations are overwhelmed with the like abuse. The bourgeoisie papers want to throw the responsibility for the outrages committed against individuals or groups that do not understand the tenets of the revolution on to the shoulders of the revolutionary soldiers and laborers, though these misdeeds are in reality the result of the civil corruption. They therefore brazenly exaggerate what has happened, color it, and invent lies. All their thoughts run on insulting and blackening the revolution, thus to prepare the soil for a counter-revolution. We understand that this must of course greatly affront the revolutionary Russian military in Finland, which, adhering firmly and with undeviating constancy to its principles, has acknowledged the political independence of Finland. We, the representatives of the workingmen of Finland, fight staunchly with you against such a false and provocative stream of insults provoked by the bourgeois of Finland, and express our distinct disapproval of the counter-revolutionary efforts of the bourgeoisie press.

"The Social Democracy are fighting indefatigably against militarism and our Party Meeting has distinctly made known that

> Finland, even as an independent State, does not require any standing army. Neither must, of course, Russian military be maintained in Finland as soon as its withdrawal is possible, and at any not after the conclusion of peace. But the laborers of Finland have not joined the bourgeois in their provocative demands that the military should be withdrawn immediately, in spite of the distressful shortage of food reigning in the country, which, of course, is further increased for the laborers by the presence of the military here," etc. etc.

It is a peculiar logic that runs through this document. The pacifists want to keep the soldiers, the hungry ones wish to keep those who are a drain on the food stores, and they who in the first place have prevented the realization of Finland's liberty are greeted as those who have bestowed freedom on the country.

On the 26th January the Party Meeting appoint an "Executive Revolutionary Committee," and "whose decisions and orders the organized laborers of Finland and their Red Finn Corps should obey." And in the leading paper, "Työmies," article upon article is produced in order to inflame its readership. The Government of the country is only mentioned in quotation marks, and about its proclamation to the whole people cited above it is said:—

> When the appeal of the "Government of Finland" became known in Labor circles it roused an unspeakable bitterness, an unspeakable hatred. And no wonder. For its contents are precisely so criminal, so brazen, so brutal, and so bloody. And there they are derided who have done the noblest deed for the good of our People. In acknowledgment of all that our Russian comrades have done for the liberty of our People, for our independence, for our liberation from oppression and oppressors, they are flouted and called criminals, and on them is thrown the blame of all the shameful outrages for which our ruling class is itself to blame."

And now what in the last instance did the authority do which before all could have mitigated the consequences of the now unavoidable

civil war, what did the Government of Russia do to prevent their troops from fighting against Finland's lawful force for the maintenance of order? When the representative of the Finnish Government on the 26th January applied to the "Commissioner for Military Affairs," i.e., the Minister for War, Pokrovski, he stated: "According to information received at St. Petersburg, the social revolution in Finland has begun. In consequence of her principles, it is the duty of Russia to support the proletariat of Finland in its struggle against the Finnish bourgeoisie. *The Commissioner has sent the Finnish Red Guard assistance in Finland, and will continue to do so.*"

So then the die was cast. Finland's people had to choose between destruction in the Russo-Red maelstrom, or a fight for life and liberty. She chose the latter alternative, and was victorious. But the fight which went before the victory was cruel and sanguinary. This is made clear to us by a quick glance at the rule of violence of the Red Finns during the following months.

The Insurrection

1. Red And White: General Characteristics

In the preceding pages a summary has been given of the events before the outbreak of the insurrection. This was necessary in order to show the causes of the Red revolution. With all brevity they may be summarized as follows:—

As a background, the twenty years of Russian oppression from which the community had suffered, as well as the Russian revolutionary movement, with the fanatical and Utopian views of which the Finnish Labor Movement had been inoculated.

That is to say: Russian infection.

As chief cause, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, which turned the heads of the Labor Party, who lusted after power, and so tempted them to follow the example.

That is to say: Russian infection again.

As a largely contributing cause that the movement was not even stopped on the verge of the abyss of civil war, the Russian Bolshevik Government's combined plans of a reconquest of liberated provinces, and a social conquest of the world.

That is to say: Russian infection once more.

The program of, and part played by, the Labor Party was much more simple; they fought solely for the power or rather to actually get to show and feel their power. The majority in parliament in the spring and summer of 1917 was not enough for them. Strikes without number were organized. When later they lost their majority in the Lantdag, the party went over to "unparliamentary means of force," and created the Red Guard. And when the activities of the latter met

with opposition from the Government, the Government was overthrown. Though the party did not intend to carry out a social revolution, they did not scruple to employ anything Russian Bolshevism could offer them of cynical slogans, catch words, and other means of social agitation as weapons.

From the previous statement, it would appear, too, why a revolution, an insurrection which lacked all ideal merit, which had no other purpose than that of dragging Finland into an Eastern chaos, and giving the power to a small set of political adventurers, why this revolution found the number of adherents it really did: the Red numbered more than 100,000 men.

The reason was that the people did not at all understand the significance of the events they had been drawn into. Everything came little by little. Strike had followed on strike, disturbance on disturbance. This was "revolution." The lawful authorities of the country had not been able to check the lawlessness. They stood powerless. So then it was the "people" that had the power. And the attempts of the middle and upper class to stop the worst manifestations of this peculiar popular rule were then a "shameless attempt at counterrevolution." It must be beaten down. Therefore, one entered the Red Guard, one armed oneself, and therefore one was willing to fight against the bloody-minded "loyalist corps." It was a question of honor to serve the efforts of the proletariat and safeguard its position of power — all objections were silenced by the mighty word "revolution." This word was also sufficient to quiet conscience if the bloody deeds of the red comrades were felt as a heavy burden. And if that was not sufficient, there was the magic formula "provocation"; if even this did not suffice, then the magic word "butchers" never failed of effect.

If, therefore, the Government wanted to prevent the "just endeavors" of the proletariat, would "deprive the laboring class of the fruits of its struggle," nothing was easier than to remove this Government. Already twice the Government of Finland had been overthrown by revolution, in November, 1905, and in March, 1917. Each time the

whole people had rejoiced. Nothing, it was supposed, could prevent it from being overthrown a third time, as it was said that it was "black" and "counter-revolutionary," and an enemy to liberty, now, as the two former times. One revolution or another, one master or another, the proletariat had once got into power, and this power was to be defended and asserted.

The insurrection was the unavoidable consequence of all that had happened. Therefore, with much the greater portion the question did not arise: Am I right in rising against the lawful authorities? No question arose at all — except among railway, post office, and customhouse officials, the staff of the tramways, cabdrivers, etc. Here a great division reigned, and here it was mainly dependent on how strongly the individual had been influenced by the agitation of the Labor Press, whether he was "Red" or "White." On the other hand, it must be noted that the number of workingmen, who more and more clearly perceived the corruption of the rule of violence, was considerable. It was hardly the revolution itself, the overthrowing of the Government itself, which made them hesitate, but it was the sight of the advance of all the low elements within their own organization; it was the many outrages which made them keep back a little. The position of these workingmen was extremely difficult, for a refusal to join the ranks of the Red was dangerous if once they belonged to the co-operating trade unions. With threats and violence they were forced into the movement, and those who resisted compulsion as long as possible were disposed of with a couple of rifle shots.

It may seem incredible that the greater part of the workingmen had such a clouded conception of the situation. But nevertheless it was the case. All talk of starvation and oppression by capitalists being causes of the movement is false, for the insurrection did not break out because a overburdened proletariat wanted to achieve an existence worthy of human beings, but because by the force of circumstances had succeeded in establishing a dictatorship of violence and criminality, a terrorism which its leaders would not let go. And if we rightly consider how abnormal the state of affairs in Finland had been for the last twenty years, if we recollect that the

whole people for two decades had aspired towards one single aim: liberation from Tsarist-autocratic oppression, then we understand that in the soul of the people there slumbered mighty leanings towards such a thing as a struggle for liberty, a rising of the people, a revolution under any form. These were chords that vibrated to the lightest touch; it was a smouldering fire which could be brought to flame up in a fury the instant anything inflammable came near it.

The leaders of the Labor Party were guilty of the greatest of crimes when they directed this stream of yearning for liberty against their own countrymen, against the first Government of independent Finland, against the most democratic of all parliaments. When they pointed out those who had fought in the first rank against Russian oppression, and were the most pronounced democrats and most eager fighters for Finland's liberty, pointed them out as the tools of Tsarism, black reactionaries, the executioners of the people and more to that effect — then they were guilty of a baseness, a meanness, and an infamy which can never be forgiven. For it was done against their better knowledge; it was an undisguised and conscious lie. What they built upon in the last instance was the old thirst for liberty among ordinary people which mainly concentrated in hatred against those in power, whoever they were. Therefore the social questions played only a negligible part in the whole tragedy.

If these, broadly speaking, were the motives of the Red, those of the White may be still more briefly summarized. White, before all, were those who understood that Finland must be plucked from out of the whirlpool of the Russian revolution, so as not to be destroyed, who perceived the difference between a Western state of culture, law and order, and the Eastern chaos of Russia, who comprehended into what an abyss a proletariat dictatorship, like that of the Bolsheviks, hurled a country and a people. To these belonged also all small businessmen, all the independent shopkeepers, the whole middle and upper classes — apart from pecuniary circumstances. The Red met with complete, unanimous resistance from board-school teachers, subordinate functionaries, clerks, technicists and the like. Again, all those were White who had come under the direct rule of

violence of the Red. To these belonged all peasants, the majority of the population of the country. They were not without the universal yearning for liberty, but with them it had remained healthy. They felt the brutal violence intensely, whether it came from above or from below, and they acted against it. On the whole, the country population was sparsely represented among the Red. Only the random, unemployed population that had been employed at the world-war fortification construction had joined the Red in great numbers, and in like manner the greater part of the workingmen from the centers of industry; but the following among farmhands and crofters was very slight, and — if they joined the Red — they mostly confined themselves to taking over "the power" in their parish, playing at district magistrates, police and parish council, and ordering about their former leaders.

Hardly either to the peasants did the bold step of overthrowing the Government become decisive. The many months of mob-rule had brought them to despair. All hooligans, all Russian soldiers, all wretches and criminals freely made havoc of the country. There was no possibility of order and safety if one did not oneself take up arms and suppress the Russian terrorism. The White fought for liberty, law and order, a war of defense against all destructive, disintegrating forces. Their war was a war of liberation, not a struggle for power.

Plainer, perhaps, than by anything else, the Russian coloring of the Red Finn is shown by the fact that they were entire strangers to such conceptions as law and order. Their whole rule bore the impress of the East, with contempt of the rights of others, of discipline and self-control. In this they differed completely from all Western "Socialism." They had the purely Russian mania for giving orders to all the four corners of the earth, for writing ukases, manifestos and decrees — which were never obeyed. They had acquired the Russian manner of intoxicating themselves in speeches and negotiations through long nights, of talking and smoking themselves into an over-excited frame of mind, of living on the enthusiasm fomented in monster meetings — on the whole, of playing with the fluctuating moods of an irresponsible crowd as the wind plays with the autumn leaves. Their

life was to be one ecstasy of excitement, one intoxication of power. Motor-cars dashing about, telephones ringing frantically, heaps of telegrams, clicking typewriters, orders here and orders there, food snatched at any moment, an hour's sleep anywhere. What was order, what was cleanliness, what was all quiet and unpretending everyday life — nothing. To rule and reign, live in a fever, throw all ordinary ideals to the winds, that was the thing to do. The revolution of the Red Finn was as foreign as possible to our character, as it was foreign to any deliberate, carefully planned, coolly carried out revolution. It built on the hypnotism of the group meetings, it was a riot, not conspiracy.

In the following pages details and facts will supplement this characterization. It is not intended to give a detailed historical account of the course of the civil war, but only to describe certain aspects of the Red rule as it shaped itself in the south of Finland, and briefly to touch on the outbreak of the insurrection and its final suppression.

2. The Outbreak of the Insurrection

On Saturday, the 26th January, it was clear to everybody that the Red intended to proceed to serious action. How far they aimed was not known, whether the intention was only to go for all the Protective Corps in the whole country, or to attack the Government also, was uncertain. The Red Finns were concentrated at Helsinki, where Russian Red Guardsmen and marines from St. Petersburg also arrived. On the Saturday evening the weak Protective Corps retreated from the city in order to avoid hopeless fighting in the streets, and some of the members of the Government went to Wasa in Österbotten in order to be able to sustain the lawful government there if the worst came to the worst.

On the morning of Sunday the 27th the activities of the Red began. From the Russian arsenals in the Sveaborg fortress numbers of rifles and a lot of ammunition were transported into the town, and the Red marched forth and took possession of the railway station, the police offices, the telegraph offices, the telephone exchange and the printing offices of the free press. The district prison received orders to keep 150 cells ready for the prisoners of the Red. A number of house-searches and arrests were made. The Red were obviously waiting for the Protective Corps to make a sortie, so that they could honorably conquer the city with arms. They knew very well that the Protective Corps was rather inferior in number to their own forces. That they expected a fight is seen among other things from the proclamation which was affixed to all posts and trees, and which, verbatim, ran as follows:—

> To the Inhabitants of Helsinki,
>
> All the peaceful inhabitants of Helsinki are urged to keep out of the streets during the fight with the slaughtering guard, or the consequence will be that they may be shot down.

> The Working-men's Revolutionary Guard desire to avoid the shedding of blood of innocent persons.
>
> Helsinki, 27 January 1918,
>
> The Working-men's Executive Committee.

But as no hostile forces appeared, rifle volleys were fired in the air and "order" energetically maintained. In the night a search for the members of the Government was started, but they were not found in their houses. Early on the Monday morning all Government offices were occupied, and a proclamation declared the city to be in a state of strike. At last the public learned what was meant by all this activity, when later in the day an Appeal to Revolution to the People of Finland was distributed. It read as follows:—

> The hour for the great Revolution has struck for Finland's Labor Class.
>
> To-day the workingmen of the capital have boldly overthrown the headquarters of the dark rule of few who began a sanguinary war against their own people.
>
> The members of the criminal Senate prepared an atrocious civil war, even in the capital of the country, an invidious assault on the organized workingmen of Finland. At the same time they have been guilty of such unblushing treason that they have asked foreign monarchical governments to send bands of murderers to butcher Finland's workingmen. The life and liberty of our People is hereby placed in the greatest danger.
>
> Now all power has been taken from this butchering senate. Orders have been issued that the criminal members of this senate are to be imprisoned wherever they are met with, as the prison has already long been their proper place.
>
> The working class of the country are to take all governing power in Finland into their own reliable hands.

Thus the working class have ultimately been forced to rise in order to save themselves and our country from the disaster and distress which the criminal capitalist system has cast our People into. The intrigues of the uncanny and dangerous Senate and its tools have been exposed. In order to usurp the power in the State, that power which — as it is self-evident — ought to belong to the People itself, the Senate have committed one breach of the law after another. The chief aim of all these intrigues has been to put down the Labor Movement of the whole country, to destroy all progress of democracy and bury the suffering People's hopes of a real work of progress.

But Finland's Working Class will never become thralls under such a terrible yoke of reaction. Such a heinous attempt at a State-stroke must break down ignominiously. And complete oppression has now begun. This dangerous, reactionary oppression force must be rooted out and rendered innocuous.

The supreme revolutionary organ of Finland's workingmen, which has been appointed by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, does hereby announce that — all revolutionary power in Finland now belongs to the organized workingmen and their revolutionary organ.

A Social-Democratic, revolutionary Government will now instantly be formed. At the very first opportunity the names of the members of this Government will be made public.

The aim is not only to put in new men in the place of the former, but to overthrow the whole bureaucratic system.

Now our organizations and Guard Corps all over the country must, each according to the best of their ability, fulfill their duty to the revolution. Within our ranks we must maintain a strict, revolutionary order.

Russian soldiers should be well received everywhere as we know that Russian comrades are the friends of the revolutionary

workingmen.

A general strike will not be necessary everywhere for the success of the revolution. The revolutionary workingmen must themselves decide in their organizations where this remedy is to be employed. But, for the sake of the revolution, according to our opinion, a general strike should at once be proclaimed in Helsinki.

The workingmen must, where it is deemed useful and fitting, take over the leadership of communal affairs and other offices.

No one must fail or give up!

No long negotiations with armed perfidious enemies!

The victory of the workingmen must be a complete victory!

Peaceful fellow-citizens who do not wish to support the enemies of the workingman have nothing to fear from the revolution. Humble folks in the country and in the cities must not spread such lies as that the workingmen wish to get hold of their property. On the contrary, the victory of the working class may also better their position in society. The power of the workingmen is a just power, which always tries to prevent unnecessary violence, and to mitigate the sufferings of innocent men and women. But the armed handy-men of the overthrown Senate must be pursued without mercy. Would that those, who have treacherously been tempted, at once throw down their weapons now they have come to recognize that it has been hoped to make them fight against the noble cause of the working People.

The revolution of the workingmen is magnanimous but hard. Hard towards the enemies of the People, but a helpful support to all that are oppressed and suffering.

Look to the revolutionary power of the workingmen with confidence!

At the present moment a fight for the war is going on in many parts. But irresistibly it will carry victory to our colors!

It is our firm conviction that the workingmen of our country, the present as well as the coming generations, will truly bless this revolution, which is to take Finland into a new and happier time.

The Executive Committee of the workingmen of Finland,

Eero Haapalainen.

Simultaneously with this, a number of instructions were issued with regard to the duty of assisting the Red troops, etc. In these Finland is also declared to be in a state of militant revolution, a situation the import of which has always remained obscure. But as Finland already during the whole of the world war had been both in a state of siege and a state of war, something new was required to make an impression. The whole day long motor-cars drove about the town packed full of armed Red Finns and Russians. They fired into the air and at the walls of the houses. Also the patrolling Red Finns fired volley upon volley with their rifles. Still, only two persons were wounded. The whole was a in-artful reproduction of the incidents of the March revolution: this was the way in which it was supposed a revolution should proceed. An attempt was also made on that day to imitate the tactics used at the murders of the Tsarist officers. The chief rate collector of the city was arrested in his office, but liberated late in the evening. In order that he might reach his home unmolested, he was provided with an escort of two Red Finns. When they reached a side street, the two "protectors" abandoned the prisoner they were to protect. The rate collector heard the click of a gun, and turned his head. In the same instant the shot fell. The bullet entered at the back of the neck and went out at the ear. The rate collector fell down and the Red assailants fled. The wounded man was found in the street, was carefully nursed, and eventually recovered.

On the Tuesday the new Government and their program were made known to the public. Of course, the Government was formed on Lenin lines; of course, "Commissioners," not ministers, ruled. And over the Government was a Central Council — as in Russia — which was to control the measures suggested by the Commissioners. In reality, it was four of the members of the Government who ruled everything, four already well known party men. First, the chief of the Government, Kullervo Manner, who had been president of the Lantdag during the summer, and who had begun his political career in the first years of the century by going the errands of the Tsarist rule of oppression; an ambitious struggler. In the second place, the food controller, Oskari Tokoi, an adventurer of the purest water, formerly a miner in America, later the trusted man of the party, once president of the Lantdag, chief of the Government in the spring and summer of 1917. A good intellect, but without any backbone or character. In the third place, Yrjö Sirola, once a student like Manner, journalist, party-leader, now Minister for Foreign Affairs. A quiet-mannered fanatic, and fairly efficient statesman. Finally, Eero Haapalainen, expelled student, a violent and brutal alcoholic, who had had many battles with the police. Now Minister of the interior and Commander-in-Chief of the Red Guard.

The program of the Government of course comprehends a lot of promises of reform. But nothing is found about the constituent assembly which had before been so energetically demanded. Nor does the program contain anything about a redistribution of former Russian gentry farmland holdings — a considerable divergence that from the program of the Russian social revolution. But for the rest, it was not a little that was promised. The reforms were briefly these: A complete alteration of the administration of the State, the crushing of the bureaucracy for ever and aye, a chastisement once for all of the wilfulness of the tribunals, an alteration of the whole form of government on democratic lines, in order to safeguard the rights of the workingman, old-age and invalid insurance, the emancipation of crofters and small tenants from the rule of the landlord, the bank funds under the control of the community, and the taking over and working by the community, of "the great plundering enterprises" for

the profit of the community without any regard to private property. All these reforms, it further said, could be carried through only by revolutionary measures taken by the revolutionary organs.

The first official action of the new Commission was to send a hearty greeting to the Government at St. Petersburg, next they informed the governments of the states, which had acknowledged the independence of Finland, of the revolution. By this act, according to the opinion of the Commissioners, the lawful Government of the independent Finland of ten weeks past had been removed, and the country had been subjected to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But things did not run as smoothly as all that. The vanished Government came to light again at Wasa, somewhat decimated certainly, but still a threatening phantom to the Commissioners. Quite a new figure appeared on the scene at the same time, a personality about whom only few knew that he had been the leader of the organization of the Protective Corps at Österbotten for the last few weeks. This was General Gustaf Mannerheim. It is difficult to describe the rejoicings called forth by his first bulletin, which was secretly made known through Helsinki, among all who had studied the revolutionary appeal of the Red with disgust, and regarded the shooting gangs of the Red savages in the streets with abhorrence. There was a new note in Mannerheim's telegram, a note of hope and confidence in the sound core of the people, which gave glimpses of the fairest vistas. Now both the Russian and the Red were to be driven out, now the country was to be torn from out of the grasping hands of the Bolshevik revolution. The telegram in which the population of South Finland, which had been brought to the verge of despair, found all these promising communications ran as follows:—

> The outrages, pillage and murder committed among the peaceful population by the lowest elements in the community together with the Russian soldiers, among which outrages especially the occurrences at Vyborg have excited the fierce indignation of the liberty-loving peasants at Österbotten, have obliged me to disarm the Russian troops at Wasa, Lappo,

Ylistaro, Seinajoki, Jakobstad, Gamlakarleby and other places. If the Red Finns do not submit to the lawful Government, the exasperated peasant troops of this country will be obliged with arms in hand to pass judgment on the traitors. A guarantee of personal safety is given to the 5,000 disarmed Russian soldiers, and they will be liberated as soon as an arrangement to that effect has been come to between Finland and Russia.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Protective Corps,

General Mannerheim.

So then there was a White army, as well as a Red one. Not for one instant was the final victory of the White doubted.

But the great thing was to offer resistance to the Red even in those parts where they had appropriated the power. A call was made for a general strike among the functionaries, and it was carried through without the least disagreement. Only the physicians and the food rationing departments continued work. The banks were kept closed, and the Employers' Union stopped all manufacturing business. Life became extremely complicated. The Red gave chase to the members of the Government and the Lantdag, to the officials and bankers in order to arrest them. All these and all who had had anything to do with the Protective Corps had to keep themselves concealed. They stayed with one another, moved sometimes, let their beards grow, and neglected appearances. Disguised thus, the pursued could sometimes take a little walk in the evening. After nine in the evening it was forbidden to go out in Helsinki. Nor did anybody care to, for every evening there was the sound of shooting in the streets.

Perhaps the worst of all was the absolute uncertainty Red Finland was completely isolated from the outer world, and only had connection with Lenin's St. Petersburg. No Scandinavian newspapers, no letters, no enlightening telegrams got through. Rumors were afloat, and the only sources of news were the newspapers of the Red. They were not to be trusted. The cruelties of

the "butchers" and their enormous losses in the fights were the chief contents; from abroad the only news obtained was of the sort that the Kaiser had been deposed, that revolution was breaking out both in France and Norway, that the power of the Bolsheviks in Russia was increasing day by day. People sat nervous and idle in their homes, only this single thought revolving in their minds: "When will Mannerheim come?"

In the meanwhile the Red were at work. They searched houses, made arrests and seizures. They had to fill all the Government offices with their own people, and organize their army. The war operations became the center of the efforts both of the White and the Red. The result, of course, was dependent on them. There may therefore be some reason for pausing to look a little at the army of the Red.

3. The Red Army

In order to become incorporated in the Red Guard, the following things were required: Class feeling, a knowledge of the methods of the Social Democracy, and being a member of the Labor Party. The Guard was thus a pure class army. Every local labor association formed its own Red Guard. The result of this was small groups without number, a lot of "staffs," and a number of "commanders-in-chief." It was, of course, in the interim that a homogeneous organization should be found; statutes speak of brigades as well as divisions and army corps — but it never got so far. In the larger towns both companies and battalions were formed, but regiments are never mentioned. On the Russo-revolutionary model the men constituted the supreme authority. That is to say, that the orders issued by the officers were made subject to discussion at the meetings of the men, and could either be sanctioned or vetoed. In like manner, the meetings could remove unpopular chiefs and choose others instead. Any uniform or consistent system in this respect seems not, however, to have existed. At one time it is the officers, at another the men who make the decisions.

The original object of the Red Guard was plainly enough purely local operations. Each division was to take over and keep the power in its own part of the country. It was therefore an extremely unpleasant surprise when it proved that the White intended to occupy the whole northern part of the country, and that it became necessary to take the field in the middle of the winter. This would entail claims on the commissariat which it could not meet, and it also made greater demands on the men than had been intended. In spite of all the Russian help with arms and ammunition, the Red army were quite at a loss at the change of program.

The important question of the conduct of war-operations on the part of the Red was most closely connected with the question of how the Russian troops would stand. Were they to observe neutrality, and

leave the country as quickly as possible, or were they openly to side with the Red Finns? The answer came quickly enough.

On the 30th January the Russian Post and Telegraph Minister pays a visit to the Red Government at Helsinki, and there observes as follows:—

> "The Russian Brother Government hope that the Finnish brethren will carry the struggle they have commenced to a happy ending, and promise their full aid in the war against the bourgeoisie, which belong to the international class of sweaters, and are in consequence the enemies of the people."

This official utterance must undoubtedly be designated as a declaration of war from the Russian Government.

Already on the 28th January, however, the troops that were in Finland had issued their own declaration of war. These troops constituted the 42nd Russian Army Corps, whose staff was at Vyborg. The staff had, however, been replaced by an Army Corps Commission, and it was this commission which on the above-mentioned day issued an order to all divisions, the first paragraph of which ran as follows:—

> "From and with the 28th of this instant the troops of the 42nd Army Corps are regarded as being at war with the civic White Guard of Finland."

There was, however, yet another authority which was to have a word to say in the matter. This was the "Rayon Committee of the Army, Navy, and Russian Working-men in Finland," which on the 4th December had been appointed sole representative of the Russian Government in Finland by V.I. Lenin. The military section of this Committee regarded itself as the supreme Russian military authority in this country. It did not issue any declaration of war, but on the 28th January the section orders the 42nd Army Corps to commence decisive operations against the White Guard.

The leadership of the Red Guard Corps was, as it was inevitable, placed in Russian hands. For expert military knowledge on Finnish side there was none. Already on the 15th January the "Commander-in-Chief of West Finland's Army," Mikhail Stepanovich Svechnikov, speaks of the Red Guard Corps as auxiliary troops to the Russian corps, and the Finnish Red are all under the leadership of the Russian district chiefs. Svechnikov was later appointed commander-in-chief of the Finnish Red Guard Corps, so that these for all practical purposes were amalgamated with the Russia troops.

The supreme war command thus consisted of Russian officers. It was Russian troops that made war against the Protective Corps. And telegraphic reports of the war operations were regularly dispatched to the Russian Minister for War, the Russian Government, and the commandants of the fortresses of Kronstadt and Tallinn. From this it was very plainly seen that the Bolshevik Government of Russia intended, by the aid of the Red Guard Corps, to reconquer Finland. And this also compels one to think of this Government when one asks oneself where the real mainspring of the outbreak of the Finnish revolution is to be sought. And for the rest one cannot help comparing this outbreak with the simultaneous great strikes in Austria, and those which broke out some days later in Germany. Elaborate and highly-colored accounts of them were given in the Finnish Labor Press.

It was, however, impossible for the Russian leaders to carry through an organized, properly planned conduct of the war. The troops were too undisciplined for that. Besides, the army had been ordered to demobilize before the insurrection broke out. A great deal of the soldiers wanted to return to Russia, and were disinclined to go to war again. Demobilization was, however, prevented in all sorts of ways, and the result was more often than not that those who had obtained leave stayed where they were, but now as "volunteers" and on higher pay. From Russia crowds came streaming in of the Russian Red armies raised there, and from documents and reports the presence of at least the following Russian formations in Finland may be established as a fact: the 42nd Army Corps, a Latvian army,

volunteer divisions (consisting of men on leave), the National Socialistic Red Army, the Red Labor and Peasant Army, and finally the Anarchist Corps, consisting of 300 Marines. As, besides, the Finnish Red Guard received Russian volunteers, and all its special troops consisted of Russians, it will be understood how impossible it is to form an exact estimate of the number of Russian troops in Finland, and yet that the number was considerable.

The Finnish Red Guard, in spite of all, formed the nucleus of the revolutionary army; it could supply the bulk of soldiers. Their arms and equipment the Russians had to provide. And they did their best. When the General Staff of the Red Guard on the 2nd February sanction the expenses of the Guard for the next two months, the estimate reads as follows:—

- Pay for 30,000 men at 600 marks 36,000,000
- the Reserve 6,000,000
- Sanitary Service 3,000,000
- Widows 2,000,000
- Total Marks 47,000,000

Here all expenses for clothes, food supplies, and arms are lacking. The clothes and food were procured by "seizures," i.e., the direct plundering of private and public stores, the arms it fell to Russians to provide. They were imported from St. Petersburg and Tallinn, Estonia. Besides, command was issued to all the Russian troops that left Finland — on the 26th February it was decided that all Polish, Ukrainian, and Estonian soldiers were to go (they were not Bolsheviks, you see) — to hand over their arms to the Finnish Red Guard. Finally, the Russian Red Government on the 20th February took over all movables in Finland belonging to the Russian State. There were great quantities of weapons, ammunition, explosives, food supplies, and other things, which thus fell into the hands of the Red Guard. The supplies were, of course, to be paid for, and in the liquidation committees, appointed everywhere, the Russian Svechnikov was chief representative for Finland!

It was, however, necessary to have trained men for the service of the seven armored trains, for the armored motor-cars, the cannon and quick-firing machine guns on hand. Such were procured from Russia, and they were even advertised after in the papers — "no matter of what nationality." The artillery men received a monthly salary of 1,200 Finnish marks, the machine gunners got 900. But the shortage never seemed to be quite remedied — so large was the importation of arms. In illustration of the Red Finnish-Russian co-operation, we shall here communicate a telegram sent out by Svechnikov and Vice Commissioner for the Interior, Taimi, together: —

To the Special Staff at St. Petersburg,

> By order of the Finnish Government, we request you to hasten the dispatch of volunteers to the General Staff of the Red Guard at Helsinki: ten officers from the General Staff, twenty artillery officers, twenty' machine gun officers, twenty sapper officers and engineers. Besides, there is absolute need of 50,000 three-line rifles, two hundred machine guns (Maxim), fifty three-inch quick-firing guns, three million Japanese rifle-cartridges, ten million three-line rifle-cartridges, and one hundred thousand revolver-cartridges of all calibers.

It is instructive to see how ten volunteers out of the officers of the General Staff are quite simply requisitioned.

In such circumstances it may with justice be asked what tasks were left over for the Finnish Commander-in-Chief and the Finnish General Staff. Of course, there were still a few trifles left even for them to do. But they were mostly for ornament. When Haapalainen was elected commander-in-chief he thankfully accepts the post, but at the same time emphasizes the fact that he is devoid of all military knowledge. In the minutes of the General Staff a specially enlightening passage may also be found. The whole interior here depicted deserves to be known. At the meeting on the 23rd February a Finnish "comrade" holds forth who has been on a visit to St. Petersburg. There, he says, complaint was made of the bad

leadership of the Finnish Red Guard, and there was an uncertainty whether the sending of more weapons to Finland should be ventured. This communication was, of course, received with bitterness, and the lively discussion establishes the fact that "the aggressive activity of the Guard has continually been carried on without the knowledge of the General Staff! "A sharp reprimand must therefore be sent to Commander-in-Chief Haapalainen" with the remark that the General Staff will not undertake the responsibility of reverses in fighting carried on without the knowledge and decision of the General Staff! "In their solicitude the General Staff resolve to procure a commander-in-chief of the best quality, and a deputation is chosen which is to see the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, Krylenko, and the Russian Naval Minister, Dybenko, with the petition that one of them will, at least for a shorter period, take supreme command in Finland. This plan, however, is naturally relinquished, for, when later in the evening the meeting is continued after a pause, it is made known that Dybenko is expected at Helsinki and so may eventually be persuaded. Now the General Staff have, however, collected all their energies and resolve that flying machines are to be procured, and that an army is to be raised at Archangelsk, as there are arms there as well as many workingmen. This army is to fall into Finland from the North. Besides, a secret plan is to be formed for hunting out the weapons concealed by the citizens of Helsinki. Every house throughout the city should be closely searched from cellar to attic. Then it is arranged how the next batch of arms from St. Petersburg is to be distributed, and, finally, as a reward for all the energy shown, a kind request is received from the greatest of all the Bolsheviks, from Lenin himself. The latter requests that a company of Finnish Red Guardsmen, "in the uniform of the Guard," may be placed at his disposal. The soldiers are to go to St. Petersburg without arms; they will be armed and supplied with food there. The General Staff, of course, agree to this, but are of opinion that the company should also be of use to its own army. Therefore, after the lapse of some time it is to return — this time provided with arms — and be replaced by a fresh company without arms. "The political aspect of the matter must be arranged by the Government," conclude the minutes.

Yet, the Russians sometimes make trouble. On the list before the General Staff. At Vyborg Russian soldiers have been enlisted, and these have just arrived. But now they have "borrowed" a whole hotel, and refuse to go to the front before they get new rifles and new clothes from head to heel. From the Björneborg front the further communication is received that a band of sailors that have arrived here have quite suddenly turned back, and have begun to rob the peaceful population of objects of gold and silver and other things. The reason was that they had heard there was some wine in a church. They had then broken into the church, drunk the communion wine, and gone out on an expedition of pillage. Neither their Russian nor their Finnish comrades dared hinder them — "as a great conflict might have arisen."

According to the budget of the 2nd February the Red Guard consisted of 30,000 men. If we assume that the Reserve received half-pay it amounted to 10,000. We have thus an army of 40,000 men. But, according to official documents from the Red, the Guard amounted to 75,000 in March. The augmentation must mainly be put down to the forced mobilization which was carried out. Already earlier "moral pressure" of every kind had of course been brought to bear in order to get the workingmen into the Guard, which does not seem to have been very popular. When the revolution broke out, the men were tempted with the particularly high salary, to which was further added free board and in part free clothing. But now even such workingmen as had not volunteered were forced into the Guard. In the first place the municipal workmen and the unemployed were selected. Later the forced mobilization of all men was ordered — they were taken in the street — but it was only in East Finland the proposal was properly carried through, so that, in fact, "bourgeois" in large numbers were put into the Red ranks at the front. In other places they were simply arrested and locked up.

If we now look over the still extant documents of the Red Guard, we receive a fair idea of the peculiar order and discipline reigning throughout it. Some interiors may also in this respect serve as an illustration of the military and moral level of the Guard.

In an order of the 26th February the Russian soldiers are admonished not to sell their rifles to the enemy.

— 1,079 parcels of food have been seized on the 13th March at Raumo. They belong to the Russian Red Cross, but the commissariat of the Red Guard decide that the Guard are to have them to eat, "although it may be contrary to international agreements."

— The Red Guard Cashier at Helsinki requests that the militia will work out a list of how many thieves and other professional criminals are found in the ranks of the Red Guard.

On the 7th April, when the German troops had already landed and were marching towards Helsinki, the Supreme Command of the Red Guard — then a committee of three — together with the General Staff issue the following order to the Staff at Helsinki: "You will have observed an aeroplane above the city with black crosses on the wings. Try and find out what it is. Place zenith guns in suitable places, and bring it down if it is an enemy." It must well be observed that aeroplanes with the not unfamiliar iron cross under the wings had at that time for weeks past been a not uncommon spectacle to the population of the city.

— On the 27th March the Commander-in-Chief on the East Front sends a communication to all the troops under him with the request that it be made known to every man. Both as regards its tenor and style it is very characteristic, and, literally translated, runs as follows: —

> "Whereas among the men in the parts of Kavantsaari such an opinion has arisen that whether they may get leave or they may not they take it of their own accord, and yet they know very well that if they leave the front the butchers will get free access to conquer perhaps the whole of Finland, murder the workingmen, and drown the revolution in blood."

Then follows an urgent exhortation to stay at the front. On the 9th March a committee is appointed at Helsinki to investigate where all the troops from the capital had gone, as it was only known that they were dispersed along the front and entirely lacked officers. The committee departed, but a member reports that already on the way out a quarrel arose, and it dissolved.

— The Commander-in-Chief on the West Front is subjected to an examination on the 1st March, because he is seldom sober, and has therefore led the troops astray.

— On the 5th April the order is issued that the staff at the front in Syvalahti are to have 50 liters of brandy "for a special purpose."

— A troop starts for the front, but discovers on the way that it has two Commanders-in-Chief." In order to settle the question about the supreme command, the two field marshals take hold each of one end of a rope, and pull with all their might each in his own direction. The victor becomes the real commander-in-chief.

— The commanders and the men were often of different opinions. There is a swarm of protests and complaints. As an example, the following extract from the minutes of a meeting held by the men of the motor-car department may be communicated: The demand of the commander-in-chief, Salminen, that the chief of the motor-car department, K. Siintola, should be removed, if the worst came to the worst by force of arms, was brought under discussion. Many opinions were expressed, and it was unanimously agreed to administer a severe reproof to the commander-in-chief for his shameful conduct to the chief of the motor-car department."

— The Red Guard had a lot of women in its service. They were employed partly as common soldiers, for many woman battalions had been formed, partly as nurses, partly as God only knows what. But there was this curious circumstance that the wives of the Red Guardsmen were not allowed to serve in the Red Guard. In part at least the reason for this was no doubt that ladies with more extensive connections were more heartily welcomed in those circles.

So much is suggested by a written communication from the municipal employment office at Helsinki, which informs the Red Guard that there is great unemployment among the women of the city. "This is in part due to the fact" says the office with polite good fellowship, "that the Red Guard to a certain extent follow the so-called system of favoritism in the appointment of women, and therefore there are women in the service of the Guard who, on account of their moral conduct, are not adapted for work."

— A cashier in the Guard sends in a written complaint of the frauds committed by his staff.

— The chief of the general staff is taken into custody in the street, together with a Russian colonel, on account of intoxication.

— On the 26th March the staff at Helsinki resolve that the majors are to pledge themselves to go with their men to the front!

What has here been stated will no doubt be sufficient. These examples will not exactly give you any high opinion of the value of the Red army as a fighting power. And yet it was able to offer decent resistance. This — apart from the great lot of artillery, etc. — was due to the fact that the civil war in many ways had an "old fashioned stamp," and that the innumerable skirmishes, surprises, and actions required more personal courage than discipline and control. In general there was no lack of such personal courage.

4. The Leadership of the Red

Not without self-confidence did the Red often declare in their papers that they were doing as another leading people in history had done: they were building their temple with the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other. The simile is right enough, but with the restriction that the right hand of the workers seldom knew what the left hand of leadership was doing. For what the trowel built was not respected by the sword.

The great reform program of the Red Government was, of course, never carried through. But it was at once subjected to criticism also from their own socialist party members. A written communication published on the 8th February reflects the disappointment felt in the Labor halls which had expected a real social revolution. It is the workmen at Kymmene Works — the largest in the country — who express their disappointment at a meeting "attended by thousands." The program vacillates between efforts for petty reform and economical revolutionary principles "it says very truly in the communication to the Government, and it is therefore not entirely satisfactory to the revolutionary Labor Class. For this reason the meeting desire that the Government will at the earliest opportunity acquaint our People with the main features of their program, which, according to the unanimous wish of the meeting, should rest on the basis of economical revolution."

The "Government" did not, however, comply with this wish. On the contrary, its members sought in speech and writings to convince their adherents that a social revolution was neither aimed at nor possible. The fact of the matter was that on account of their corruption, the citizens had not been able to do their duty, and therefore the workingmen had been obliged to undertake the difficult task of governing the country. In reality all the old government departments were kept, only new and quite inexperienced people were appointed to the offices, and the names were altered. All

oversight "boards" made into people's "councils." The railway board became the railway council, the school board the school council, and so on.

An eager legislative activity was, however, started at once, but its underlying intention was obvious enough: the object was to procure adherents also outside the Government's own circle. Judging from everything, it was a great disappointment to the Red that the country population was so little revolutionary as it proved to be. It was therefore hastily overwhelmed with benefits. First it was the turn of the proletariat in the country: crofters and small-holders. By an act of the 31st January, it was proclaimed that the latter could continue to cultivate their soil, and that even without paying any sort of rent. A later decree did, however, in certain cases compensate the owner, and in the shape of State bonds. Also the freeholders obtained easements: the duty of making and keeping up roads was shifted to the State in return for a certain tax, the amount of which was to be fixed later on.

Another group of citizens, whose animosity to the Red rule roused the great resentment and indignation of the new men in power, was the teachers, especially the teaching staff of the board schools. About one-fourth of all the persuasive articles published were meant for the teaching class. It is funny to see how completely the Red were puzzled by the opposition of these men and women. So convinced were they that everything in this world turned on money that they could not make out why poor people should side with capitalists. Salaries were therefore raised considerably, and it was expected that the teachers would come forward and thank them. They did not come. It was then guessed that there was something "ideal" at the bottom, and elaborate programs for the reform of the school teaching were published — an odd contribution to the psychology of the Red. How complete was the entanglement in the "capitalist" view of the world is pregnantly seen from an article for the consolation of the relatives of the killed. Why, it is here asked, did we mourn for a husband, a son, who died? Because the wage-earner died with him. But now that the State takes care that no one shall

suffer want, now there is no reason to mourn for those that have been killed!

It was not much the revolutionary Government managed to do to build up the new community, in spite of the mass of "acts" published. Besides those stated above, an act was issued about easements in the municipal rates, several decrees concerning the regulation of food consumption, an act concerning the abolishment of all church dues, one concerning the abolishment of the old servants' law, one concerning the "interimistic" arrangement of the administration of the interior: one concerning the taxing of rent, and finally acts concerning the taking over by the State of factories that had proclaimed lock-outs, and of properties whose owners had fled. These laws took no real effect. None of the White cared for them of course, and the Red awaited further developments.

Yet the leaders of the revolution came to play a decisive part in two very important social domains, those of the administration of justice and of finance, where it was now felt what the new men in power could do.

Just as Kerenski in time past showed the Russian Revolution the way to a higher humanity by abolishing capital punishment, so the Red, also, inaugurated the new era in Finland by the same measure. This was, however, a mere formality, as in accordance with Finnish law no executions had taken place since the beginning of the last century. It became a formality, too, by the fact that it was disregarded. But the measure of abolishing all existing courts of Justice and in their place establishing people's courts was, however, no formality. Such were established in every township, and above all they took up cases concerning "counter-revolutionary activity." The judge's office was to be held by a person enjoying the confidence of the workingmen, and sentence was to be passed in accordance with conscience and common sense, not according to any previously settled system. So both the choice of the judge and the passing of the sentence was quite arbitrary. The only guide found was a list of the punishments to be applied. They consisted in warnings, fines,

dismissal from office, seizure of part or all of the chattels of the convicted person, imprisonment, hard labor, and the loss of certain personal and social advantages. The accused could be sentenced to several of these punishments simultaneously. In theory, this institution was thus very humane; in practice, as we shall soon see, it became quite otherwise. A revolutionary supreme court of justice was also established, but there are no signs of it having ever acted.

The revolutionary tribunals sentenced "the people's enemies." Those who had formerly been sentenced to lose their liberty by the verdicts of the "bourgeois" tribunals were, of course, on a different level. They were victims of the oppression of the capitalist system, and measures must be taken for their benefit. Already on the 6th February the Government decrees that the staffs of the prisons and houses of correction are to work out lists of all such prisoners who may be regarded as harmless to the community, and may therefore be set free. Although the prison staffs seem to have been exceedingly liberal in their conception — one prison alone (the district jail at Helsinki) setting free 135 prisoners — the prisoners themselves were not satisfied. On the 17th February the Red Press published a communication from the prisoners in the house of correction at Turku under the fine title: "Hopes of the Prisoners. Profound Remorse and Yearning for Liberty." In this the prisoners thank their benefactors, and aver that "the greater part" of the liberated prisoners will no doubt behave well." For a friendly action pledges us prisoners, too, to reward friendship with friendship, whereas cruelty, hard-heartedness and indifference excites animosity, vindictiveness, hatred, and indifference, which will swell the ranks of the robbers with all sorts of instigators of trouble and strike-breakers." But one item of the conditions "makes the prisoners very sad." It is this, that only such prisoners are liberated as are not considered dangerous to the community. To this we shall only remark that, if the prisoners are only liberated after the manner in which the officials of the old Tsardom in their partiality have blackened us in their reports, then there are not many who can hope to be set free at once."

The Red Government seems to have seen this, too, for on the 10th March it is decided that the term of punishment for all convicts is to be reduced by half. Prisoners for life are liberated when they have been in prison for five years, All that are liberated regain their civic rights. It need hardly be remarked that there is no amnesty provision here for "political offenders," but only of hardened criminals. The reason for this great leniency must again be put down to the fact that the army needed reinforcement.

What it meant to the community as a whole that the prisons were emptied of criminals is easy to perceive. No less harm was done to the country in other ways by the financial larceny of the Red. The latter, of course, played a very prominent part, for a revolution, as is well known, always makes great demands on the cash-box. In the first place, it was important to the Finnish-Marxist Government to get the Bank of Finland, into its own hands. They succeeded in this after some trouble. The bank building was easily accessible, but the keys to the bank vaults were not to be got hold of. It proved, however, that a messenger at the bank belonged to the Red, and he directed them to where the reserve keys were kept. They were found in a safe placed in a vault of earlier construction. The Red called in a whole band of locksmiths with modern housebreaking tools, and so they succeeded in opening the vault as well as the safe. So the Red Government were in possession of the keys, cash-box and bonds due. The Minister of Finance had honorably begun his career by burglary, and the accommodating messenger was appointed chief cashier at the bank. The sum the Red got into possession of was considerable; it amounted to over 160 millions at the chief office, and about 25 millions at the branch office in South Finland, which was opened in a similar manner. The store of gold and the greater part of the securities had, however, already long ago been taken to a place of safety in North Finland.

The 185 millions were, however, soon gone, and fresh expedients had to be found. All sorts of "acts" designed to increase the revenue were issued, but were only of little help. The worst hindrance was of course the fact that the private banks were obstinately kept closed,

and that the State Bank of Finland enjoyed the confidence of no one. The money went out of circulation as soon as it had been issued. An order was given, in consequence of which all houses of business were forced to deposit all their returns in the Bank of Finland, but it was not obeyed. An attempt was made to get hold of the foreign dues of the bank, but it failed. Finally, the largest private bank was burglared and its stock of drafts taken over. The bills due were not honored. The want of money was felt most because the army must necessarily be paid at the proper time and in full, so that the militiamen should not become discontented. And yet it was at last necessary to retrench on this tender point too. The men only got part of their pay in cash, the rest in checks drawn to the order of certain persons, and to be paid "later on."

In the meanwhile, already on the 8th February it had been resolved to follow the way shown by the Bolsheviks — a forced printing of paper money. As soon as the printing press had been set going the work was kept going with a working day of twelve hours for the workmen, and up to the 8th April, when the Bolshevik-Red Finn government fled from Helsinki, notes at a nominal value of 77,288,000 Finnish marks were printed. These notes must be considered counterfeit, as the Red did not dare write their own names on the notes, but furnished them all with the signatures of the officials they had themselves dismissed. When they fled from Helsinki the Red took all cash, about 17 millions, with them, and, besides, about 13 millions had some days before been dispatched east. It is also worth mentioning that the Bolshevik government, shortly before they disappeared to Russia at the beginning of May, made preparations for a continued printing of paper money at St. Petersburg. Whether this led to any result is not known.

The financial rule of the Red was not successful. It began by burglary, and ended by theft. But, besides, the opposition of the "bourgeoisie" was specially perceptible on this point. A crash would have been unavoidable if the Red rule had lasted any longer.

Two "great feats" of government are due to the Red leaders. These were a proposal for a constitution, and an agreement with Russia. The constitution, which, after the definite victory of the people, was to be decided by a general plebiscite — or, "at least," by the general vote of the workingmen, is only of interest in so far as it shows once more that the Red did not think of any social revolution. It contains nothing about the nationalization of the means of production, but implies contract between private individuals. It, however, aims at a far-reaching democracy where every citizen becomes a professional politician. The power is with an assembly of two hundred members — a single-chamber like the one already in existence — but elected by universal and equal suffrage for all who have completed their twentieth year (not twenty-four, as before). The executive organ is a people's commission elected for three years from out of this assembly, which controls its activity through committees. Every decision taken by the Commission in a matter of administration may be referred by the committee of investigation to the test of the Single-Chamber, if the committee consider the decision to be opposed to what the Single-Chamber would probably resolve! In legislation, administration, and administration of justice, the people itself take part directly, both by the fact that 10,000 voters have the right of bringing in bills, and by the fact that one-twentieth of the members that have taken part in the last elections have the right to demand a plebiscite for the annulment of any decision taken by the Single-Chamber, the Commission or any other administrative authority, and for the repeal of the verdict of any tribunal. In order to "crush the bureaucracy," it is decided that all offices in the administration and the courts of justice can only be held for five years at the outside.

The proposal is undoubtedly democratic. From a psychological point of view, it denotes suspicion systematized. It is taken for granted that anyone in power yearns to abuse his power. Therefore, he is to be under the intensified control of the "people."

The agreement between the "Council of the People's Commissioners in the Federative Republic of Russia" and the "People's Commission

in the Socialistic Labor Republic of Finland" need not here be communicated in detail. It is an apparently highly advantageous agreement, in the twenty paragraphs of which there are, however, many pitfalls concealed. The agreement was to be a beautiful proof of the patriotic disposition of the Red, but in reality, it gave Russia wide possibilities of interfering in the affairs of Finland. It particularly gave to the Labor Party the possibility of always asserting its majority in the parliament, as the Russian workingmen residing in Finland would get full political rights. It would be so easy to secure a lively importation of Russian Bolsheviks before each election.

The chief features of the positive work of the Red have been indicated above. Very much they did not accomplish, partly, of course, because their attention was directed most towards the war operations, partly on account of the strong opposition of the Loyalists, but chiefly because they themselves lacked a well-defined program. The only thing they had yearned for was to get into power, but when the power was in their hands they did not know what to use if for. What they were most interested in was to fill all offices with their own men. During the three months their rule lasted they managed to create a bureaucracy as ignorant, as inefficient, as unworthy as it was possible. There was a swarm of councilors, commissioners, committees, and authorities. And of these there were many who thought power really existed to be abused. Bookkeeping and accounts were complicated things; no wonder, therefore, if they often showed all sorts of peculiarities.

A really naive proof of the inefficiency of the rulers was an energetic appeal from the municipal government at Helsinki inviting all the workingmen of the city to "creative activity." And this was to consist in everyone trying to think out some system or other by which the complicated affairs of the city could be governed. The sixty members themselves of the municipal council declare that they are at a loss how to cope with all the difficulties.

Another trait that shows how little the Red respected their own most sacred principles is this, that they order a longer working-day than

the eight hours they had fought so energetically for, and which they had succeeded in establishing by law. It has already been mentioned that the working-hours in the money printing press had been extended to twelve hours. And when all the tailors of the country in March were ordered to work exclusively for the Red Guard, their working-day was fixed at ten hours. It is expressly said that the tailors who refuse are to be sent to the front.

In the meanwhile there was great official satisfaction at all of it. One paper says: "In this country slavery is beginning to be on its last legs. If now the bourgeoisie press could shake off their nose-band, we should be drowned in an ocean of the most disgusting abuse. Only think how this lying press will writhe in their strait-waistcoats when they see one link after another in the chain of slavery being cut away! "Yes, here was the source of the greatest joy: the triumph over an opponent who one tried to imagine had been beaten, the gloating over the fact that "the bourgeoisie had now been forced on their knees to the Labor class."

5. The Red and Their Opponents

The extremists in the Labor Party had forced it to revolution. These were found in the Red Guard. When the insurrection broke out it was therefore only natural that the Guard played the most prominent part, and felt like the real ruler of the country. Numerous arbitrary acts on the part of the Guard showed what a feeling of absolute power reigned within it. The troops lived as in the country of an enemy. Whatever they liked they took. You wanted a hotel, or a restaurant, or a motor car, or a special train. All this sort of expropriation was called "sequestration."

You showed a stamped paper, or wrote a receipt, and the owner had to content himself with that. The Red Government had no little trouble with their armed forces, for they did not even respect their own authorities. They particularly made food regulation difficult by taking all the supplies they got hold of for their own use, and by stopping the food trains to the towns and looting them. But generally the desires of the Red were, of course, towards the property of the citizens. This was considered as quite lawful booty. The whole commissariat of the Red Guard was founded on the possibility of expropriation, and only the firms entering into continuous relations with the Red, and having contracts with them — and they were few — were compensated for what they took. There was a special Red "commissioner of sequestrations." This branch of the activity of the Red mostly affected business men and manufacturers. They, of course, suffered considerable losses. A greater, personal inconvenience befell the great circles of citizens who were exposed to the arresting propensities of the Red. Members of the Protective Corps were, of course, eagerly sought, as well as members of the Government. During the first days of the revolution a number of Lantdag members were arrested, but most of them were liberated shortly after. On the 14th March, however, the order is given for the immediate arrest of all bourgeois members of the Lantdag. Already before — on the 6th March — the War and Economical Committee of

the Central Council had preferred a proposal for the wholesale imprisonment of the following persons: All former members of the Government and district magistrates; all presidents and cashiers of the town and parish councils, all bank managers and bank cashiers, "all millionaires jobbing in shares," all merchants and manufacturers who had closed their business. All these should be kept in prison until the victory has been won. But the arrests were never very systematic. Informers flourished, bringing about the arrest of now one and now the other, and, besides, people were arrested because they had let fall a "counter-revolutionary" remark in the streets, or smiled at some absurdly bold and oddly equipped Red militiaman.

The Red had a special grudge against all the functionaries who refused to work under their leadership — i.e., all government officials. It was also difficult to find out a suitable way of treating them. Of course the right to strike had been proclaimed as one of the first rights of man, but such things were not for the "bourgeois." With them it was not strike, but "sabotage." But the difficulty was that on the one hand it had been solemnly promised that the bureaucracy should be crushed — and now it had been completely destroyed — but, on the other hand, one could not do without the bureaucrats. Then the plan was conceived of dismissing everybody who had not offered their services before a certain day. As no one came forward it was announced that all were dismissed. And now when whole groups of functionaries were arrested for their "sabotage," they simply referred to the fact that they had been dismissed. And there was no help for it but to let them go again. Some especially indispensable subordinate officials were forced to work by threats and violence. Some escaped and concealed themselves as best they could, others took more energetic measures. Thus a young lady who was employed in the office of the Bank of Finland at Kotka took a revolver, and fired it through her right hand, in order to become unfit for work in this way. This action did not at all impress the Red; on the contrary, a close investigation was set in train, for a thing like that expressed an appalling counter-revolutionary temper.

The unemployed subordinate officials were, however, considered to be too tantalizing, and they were annoyed as much as possible. Those who lived in houses belonging to the State were put into the street — a measure felt greatly, owing to the great shortage of housing accommodation — and one proposal after another was made in the committees of the Red. Now it is a suggestion to take all food cards from a striker, now again to demand cards as members of the Labor Party, of all who have the right of getting fuel from the public supplies, etc. All these measures were, however, at last crystallized into the appointing of a Working Duty Committee which commenced its activities on the first days of April. It sent out printed forms to the Government offices requesting information about striking subordinate officials. It was intended to put them all to compulsory work for the account of the Red Guard, but the plan was not carried out, as the rule of the Red Guard came to an end shortly after.

There were, however, a great number of workmen in the service of the State — above all, on the railways — who saw no possibility of striking, both for economical reasons, and because they were personally known to many former fellow-workmen among the Red, and so had only slight prospect of keeping themselves successfully concealed. They remained at their work, but beyond this, they offered no helping hand to the Red. This was not as it ought to be, thought the men in power, and they began to demand a written obligation from these workmen to acknowledge the new Government. On account of the strong opposition this measure excited and as the train service — which was already beforehand very disorderly — looked as if it would quite stop, the carrying through of this claim was postponed time after time. But when the railway workmen at Helsinki came to draw their pay on the 1st April, their pay was refused to them unless they signed the obligation. Those who gave up their pay rather than signing were not, however, allowed to go. They were arrested, and, when Helsinki was relieved on the 12th April, 160 railway workers were found locked up in a Russian barrack. Similar methods were employed against other groups of workingmen and in other parts of the realm of the Red.

The command of the Red Guard never felt satisfied with the measures taken against the citizens. At a meeting on the 10th February they resolved that all "butcher guardsmen" — and by these were meant all men who had not joined the Red — were to do compulsory work," particularly those who belong to the so-called educated classes." At a meeting on the 26th March there is again great indignation because all men of the ages of eighteen to forty-five have not yet been forced to mobilize at Helsinki.

The Red wanted to show their power, they wished to oppress. They silenced the press, and only allowed their own productions to be issued.* They harassed or arrested everybody who did not sanction their measures. Such a thing must, however, be looked upon as the natural consequence of the mob being intoxicated with the power they had acquired, and it is, therefore, in a certain way pardonable. But what can never be pardoned is the unheard-of number of outrages committed by the Red. Violence and oppression will, perhaps, in the way of nature follow in the tracks of a revolution, robbery and murder need not.

*With one exception though. The War Cry issued by the Salvation Army appeared during the rule of the Red, but severe accusations were directed against it for a "counter-revolutionary way of writing."

The war methods of the Red were, of course, not those sanctioned internationally. You killed as well as you could, apart from all rules. One could hardly expect anything else from such undisciplined militiamen. But one thing might have been demanded of them, that they had let their prisoners of war live. But this they did not. There is abundant evidence that the Red regularly killed their captives. In the first place, the fact that White prisoners of war were never found with them (with one exception, which will be more fully related below), and in the second place, statements from doctors who had been forced to work with the field ambulances of the Red: they never got White wounded for treatment, not even when the Red accidentally became masters of the battlefield — the wounded White lying there

were killed at once. In the third place, we have the evidence of the Red themselves.

The editor of a Labor Paper at Björneborg, Han Uksila, writes to the Red Government on the 27th March expressing his anxiety at the reverses in the war. He sees only one possibility of victory, viz., that he himself takes the command on the whole of the Western front. If he gets it, he intends to commence an offensive at Björneborg. In this place there are 7,000 Red, armed in the best manner, "though untrained and unaccustomed to discipline." The enemy's equipment is much poorer, and, writes Uksila, "among their men there is no doubt one-third who would give themselves up, if only we could get our men to stop killing the prisoners, and if we could bring this to the knowledge of the White." The aspirer to the post as commander-in-chief could safely speak of this absolutely non-existent third of the White army, for he knew very well that the conditions for their surrender could not be fulfilled.

On the 12th February a communication is made at the meeting of the General Staff: the Latvian soldiers at the Savolaks front report that the Finnish Red, when they had got hold of prisoners taken by the Latvians, had immediately shot them — without any trial. This has had a "disheartening effect on the Latvians." The General Staff do not order any investigation, they only resolve to issue an order of the day containing a warning against violence to prisoners.

On the 8th February the Red papers have a great bulletin of victory. Near Björneborg the Red have vanquished a troop of White who had barricaded themselves in a farmhouse. Eleven were made prisoners, and taken to Björneborg, where they were shot by Russian marines. The report, which only mentions the shooting of the prisoners quite casually, looked rather queer. Partly because the whole region round Björneborg was Red, partly because the farm which was the scene of the fight had been troubled several times already in the summer of 1917 by the Red. The farmer and his many sons were much hated by the hooligan element at Björneborg. And quite right. On the 10th February, first a notice is found in the papers of "Great Spoils of

War," which consisted of the hundred and twelve cows and forty-eight horses of the above farm, and later a report of a soldiers' meeting at Björneborg. Here the Russian soldiers eagerly protest against the plundering of a solitary farm and murdering of unarmed prisoners. This outrage has been committed by Finnish Red Guardsmen and a few Russian soldiers. The garrison at Björneborg now demand that all the plunder be given up "to the Red Guard as the property of the Finnish proletariat," but at the same time the garrison demand that the robbers, as well as the murderers, should be severely punished. For itself the paper expresses the hope that the members of the Red Guard who have committed the murders and robberies may be dismissed from the Guard; as may be seen, a very mild wish. It is little credible that it was fulfilled, or that it was but seriously meant.

A more melancholy proof of the brutality of the Red Guard than this of Russian soldiers protesting against its cruelties can hardly be imagined.

As already stated, the Protective Corps at Helsinki had left the city the day before the insurrection broke out. The greater part of it proceeded to the little town Borga, east of Helsinki. A "White" territory now came into existence in this place. Another arose west of the capital, in the parish of Kyrkslatt. The White Corps were very incompletely armed, and could not make a stand against the Russian artillery of the Red. First the eastern corps was disrupted, and the men dispersed in the Skerries, where they suffered terrible hardship. Several of the White fugitives who had had their homes at Helsinki now tried to get into the city at night. Some were successful, but the greater part were captured and shot, either on the ice in the harbors of the city, or in the streets. Many of these people were schoolboys or young students belonging to the most noted families in the capital, and these murders were of a particularly revolting character.

When later on the western corps stood face to face with destruction, the Swedish Ambassador at Helsinki intervened, and succeeded in

concluding an agreement in consequence of which the White, who had already been driven out of their fortified positions, surrendered to the Red. The latter on their side promised to permit Swedish control of the treatment of the prisoners. In this way a collection of 600 White prisoners of war got into the hands of the Red, and these 600 were excellently suited for advertising the humane warfare of the Red in Sweden.

For it must be remembered that the Red had a wholesome fear that Sweden would take proceedings against them, and they did what they could to create an opinion in their favor in this country, strong enough to prevent all official interference. As one of the many weapons used in the campaign, the 600 prisoners were employed. The latter were, however, a thorn in the flesh of the Red Guard, and more than once, at the meetings of the officers of the Guard, a just indignation was expressed that they were too well treated, and also discontent with the Swedish interference on the whole. Thus on the 7th March, at a meeting of officers, a deputation is chosen which is to lay before the General Staff the desire of the assembly that the Swedish Consul should not interfere with the treatment of the prisoners. But other forces acted in the opposite direction. We see this clearly, e.g., in the following communication on the telephone, from the staff of the Guard at Tampere to the Red authorities at Helsinki on the 27th February (the telephone conversations of the Tampere staff were secretly pried upon by the White): "A deputation will arrive from Sweden under the leadership of Mayor Lindhagen — four persons in all. Our Swedish comrades' behavior to us will depend on the way we treat the captive butcher guardsmen. Warn the staff there to see to it that the prisoners have no complaints to make. The prisoners will be personally questioned." How little a humanity of this kind was in accordance with the habits of the Red is seen from the next telephone conversation. It is Björneborg ringing up. "The Russians will not go to the front before they have plundered. What are we to do? "The answer is: "Let them plunder as many millions of citizens' palaces as they like."

The Red campaign abroad was very energetic. It employed many other means than that of the 600 live prisoners, who were exhibited with pride. It attempted to make the Social-Democrats of Europe believe that the Red were noble fellow-partisans who had been obliged to take up arms against a black reaction, and, above all, it tried to make it credible that the White army carried on with brutal cruelty. Finally, it was very positively asserted that the outrages committed by the Red which could not be denied were carried out by the anarchist elements which had crept into the army, and which it in every way attempted to exterminate. On the whole, the efforts were directed towards convincing the foreign countries — above all, Sweden — that the civil war was carried on by two equal parties, of which one was no better than the other, and that the only proper attitude for the foreign powers to take would be a strictly neutral one. The value of all these assertions need not here be specially tried. Only one point will be more closely examined: that of the comparative innocence of the Red with regard to the crimes committed.

We must, then, first note the agitprop against the "bourgeois" carried on by the Red Press. There was not exactly any fear of blood-dripping words. Here is an example: "The bloodhounds of the White Guard lick their chops when they smell the warm blood of the workingmen wherewith they quench their burning blood-thirst."

One or two extracts from a lengthy article with the superscription," Barbarians!":—

> "We know that a thinker has said: "No wild beast is so cruel as the bourgeois if you touch his purse." The recent events show that this is really so. Already before this state of affairs (thus it was preferred to designate the insurrection!) took its beginning, it was clearly seen that the citizens feared for their check-books, and puzzled out the most shameful expedients for preventing the People's hand from getting at them. It was already a bold enough thing to push on the development of things as they did in order to evoke civil war. But this was not enough for them.

> Even a civil war seemed too humane to the citizens when it was not accompanied by the most atrociously vindictive murders and the most brutal outrages."

The article goes on to state all sorts of fabricated cruelties by the White, and continues:—

"It need not be pointed out whither that sort of cruelties will lead. Hitherto the Red Guardsmen have not offered violence to unarmed citizens, and much less to their women and children! But what will be the consequence of the continuance of such atrocities on the part of the opponents? No example is more infectious than that of the vendetta." The intention of this is obvious. What is wanted is to neutralize the effect of the many outrages committed by the Red. They were wholly and solely the natural consequence of the behavior of the White! As regards the methods of war of the White, they must undoubtedly be characterized as stern. As they had to do with an enemy who murdered and maimed all their enemies, as all the bodies of the fallen were plundered, and as they knew what cruelties the Red had been guilty of behind the front, it was difficult to make room for any leniency. The White fought against insurgents and traitors; their war was a war of liberation against Russians and hooligans; they were really no army at war, but a hastily collected number of volunteers who had gone out to punish malefactors and enemies of their country. No wonder then if they sometimes made short work of the trial; if exasperation led to severity, harshness, and — if you will — to brutality. But this is one thing; the cruelties and torture spoken of by the Red Press, another. Of such things the White army was innocent, but the Red army, guilty.

During the world war it has been seen more than once how difficult it is to verify all the tales of cruelties committed. Besides, in themselves they only prove that there are some individuals who are able to commit any atrocity in their frenzy. By such things an army cannot be judged, nor — as in this case — a socialist movement in its entirety. The thing to be considered is the mentality of the fighting formations as a whole, the discipline and self-control to be found,

and the punishments the malefactors were subjected to in their own ranks. In the posthumous papers of the Red we get a sufficiently clear image of the spirit reigning among them to be able to convict them. They were not all robbers and murderers, but those who were not did nothing, absolutely nothing, to put a stop to the regular mania for theft and murder raging in their ranks. Here the proclamations against cruelties now and again published in their papers cannot come under consideration; they were not designed for their own bands, but for the audience — i.e., the foreign countries, and especially Sweden. Besides, the proclamations regularly contained such a number of accusations against the White that they acted more like incitements than dampers. And between them column after column was filled with the most blood-curdling descriptions of the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the White. The service at the front did not in general please the Red — not a few meetings of the men resolved that the troops had had enough of offensive operations and now intended to pass over to guard service in their homes. It was therefore desired to force them to see the necessity for fighting; if for no other reason, so as not to fall into the hands of the wild beast White. In the meanwhile the many and lengthy descriptions also resulted in the behavior of the Red becoming cruel beyond all description. Perhaps this was not the intention, but it was the natural consequence.

We shall now proceed to the consideration of the darkest chapter in the history of the Red insurrection, the murders behind the front.

How many unarmed persons have fallen victims to the lust for murder among the Red cannot, unfortunately, be accurately ascertained as yet. Many have disappeared, of whom their relatives have not yet given up all hope; now and again a dead body is still found in the woods; and the sea, as well as the lakes, may yet cast up many dead on the shore. But it is certain that the number exceeds one thousand. At least one thousand murders. And the murderers? Not one of them has been punished by the Red Government. This fact must be kept well in mind when judging of the ideality and humanity of the Red.

It has a certain interest to see what trades and classes are chiefly represented among the murdered. A hastily made out list of 624 shows the following distribution:—

Agriculturists	193	(or 31 per cent.)
Students, schoolboys	141	„ 22 „ „
Engineers, clerks, business men, bank clerks	129	„ 21 „ „
Working-men	66	„ 10 „ „
District magistrates, policemen ...	23	„ 7 „ „
Subordinate officials	20	
Teachers	15	„ 4 „ „
Clergymen	10	
Women	5	„ 3 „ „
Lantdag members	3	
Veterinaries, apothecaries... ...	6	
Physicians	3	
Sailors, etc.	10	„ 2 „ „
Total...	624	(or 100 per cent.)

The list shows that it is above all the rural districts which have been ravaged. The first group, which mainly embraces peasants, but also landed proprietors, stewards, and inspectors, together with the third group, mainly embracing the staffs of various works, constitutes half of the whole number. The largest group but one, the students and schoolboys, comprises such who were either suspected of belonging to the Protective Corps, or really did belong to them, and either tried to get to the White through the lines of the Red, or were fugitives after their separate corps had been beaten by the Red. Though they could thus be reckoned as belonging to the forces of the opponents, yet they were unarmed when they were captured and shot.

The number of murdered workingmen is comparatively large. They were such as would not on any conditions join the Red movement, and were therefore regarded as traitors. There are also many murders of clergymen. These murders — and in several cases they were combined with torture and the violation and pillage of the church — are the result of the campaign of the Labor Press against the Church and its men. The murders of police officers again prove how large a part the old police customers and jail-birds played in the

Red Guard. They now revenged themselves for the months and years they had been imprisoned.

In a number of cases the motives for the murders may thus be inferred. But in most cases we have only to reckon with the generally accepted opinion that all opponents — all that did not agree with the Red — were to be murdered. The best idea of the causes of the murders, and the manner in which they were committed, we shall get by choosing some examples. Among the papers of the Red a number of documents concerning the murders are found, and they often throw a clear light on the views of the Red. For it sometimes happened that some murder occasioned a "Red" investigation.

This first occurred when the arrested member of the Lantdag, A. Mikkola, a barrister, the author of the petition concerning the re-establishment of the army, and the young physician, G. Schybergson, were murdered. Schybergson was arrested on the 2nd February at the hospital where he was doing service, was taken to a park and shot. Finland's Association of Physicians, as well as the Swedish Ambassador at Helsinki entered a protest against the murder of Schybergson. The Red were obliged to make investigations. "If needful, the delinquents are to be arrested," it was resolved by the General Staff of the Red Guard.

A Commission for the Investigation of Murder and other Outrages committed in Helsinki and Environs during the Revolution was now appointed, i.e., not until the 13th February. The murderers had had ample time to disappear! The work of the Commission gives the following result: About the murderers of Doctor Schybergson nothing is known. Information had been communicated to the Red Guard, from which it appeared that at the same hospital in which he was doing service there was a head nurse, Mrs. Blom, in whose rooms members of the Protective Corps used to meet. A big troop of Red Guardsmen were sent to the hospital. They rung the bell of Schybergson's door, and inquired for Mrs. Blom. But now a calamity occurred. The Red were not able to pronounce the name properly, as there is no "b" sound in the Finnish language. They thought they

could perceive a note of scorn in the voice of the young physician when in answer to their very stuttering question, due to the difficulties of pronunciation, he replied: "There is nobody but I living here." The Red then retired, but, feeling rather cheap at the meager result, on their way home they recollected the hint of a smile on the physician's face, and they turned back. They searched the house, took Schybergson with them, shot him, and rifled the corpse.

The murder of Mikkola gave the Commission more trouble, for here there was no question of an unpremeditated act. The author of the military petition, the anti-militarist Labor Party's hated "war-Antti," had been put out of the way on account of his parliamentary activity. A murder of revenge, that is to say. The evidence really reveals nothing until the rumor gets abroad that a certain Red captain has fallen at the front. Relying on this, in fact, incorrect communication, the witnesses, who now feel unrestricted, begin to speak. The said captain had come to the army service corps of the Red Guard the day after the murder of Mikkola, and boasted before the officials there that he had already murdered thirteen persons, and, among other things, said, "this war-Antti had a hard pate." At the same time it was brought to light that the captain had acted as executioner, while it was his mayor who had ordered the murder. The affair ought, therefore, to be plain enough.

It was, unfortunately, only too plain. Besides these two murders, the commission had inquired into yet a third case: that of a working man who had been found shot in the street. He had been murdered by two former friends, who were now Red Guardsmen. It was unfortunate that the commission arrived at such plain results. On the 26th February it sends in two written communications to its Government. In the first it mentions that Mikkola's murderers are "probably" the two above-mentioned persons, and is of opinion that they ought to be tried. But "as these persons are now at the front, and the commission do not find that their authority is sufficient to summon persons of the rank of officers, the commission must leave it to be decided by the Commander-in-Chief and the procurator whether steps should be taken, and in that case — what steps."

The other communication is of the following tenor:—

> "The Commission does hereby communicate that its work cannot be continued any longer, on account of the defective composition of the Commission, and because the Red Guard does not regard it with a favorable eye. The three representatives elected to the Commission by the Red Guard have not taken part in its work, and as no other members have been elected, in spite of the repeated requests of the Commission, the undersigned solicit exemption from being members of the Commission,
>
> "M. A. Airola, J. H. Vehkamaki, Chairman Secretary."

From an undated account of the activity of the Commission, it is further seen that the representatives of the Red Guard have to a great extent kept away from the Commission meetings. These amounted to twelve. At the first three, two members of the Red Guard were present, at the next five, one, and at the last three the chairman and the secretary were quite alone.

From the above documents, we see how much energy the Red Government exerted in its activity against the "anarchist elements" it used to speak about. Two inviolable persons, a physician and a representative of the people, are murdered; the murders are inquired into owing to strong pressure, and, when the investigators begin to get the scent of a result, the inquiry is terminated. It is the Red Guard that takes a hostile view of all such steps.

The Guard ruled, and the Guard would suffer no criticism. There are many examples of this. In March the entire staff of the big timber firm Ahlstrom was arrested in Norrmark in the vicinity of Björneborg, and taken away. On the way all the sixteen prisoners were murdered. The organ of the Red at Björneborg considers this rather awkward, and, as the outrage has caused a melancholy sensation in those parts, the paper denounces it in mild terms. The Helsinki paper, Työmies, prints the article. But immediately the paper receives an indignant protest from two Red Guardsmen, who sign their names.

"When reading such things," they write, "one gets into a very melancholy mood, for an article like this comes either from short-sightedness or provocation. It is not fitting to throw a shadow on all our noble and valiant boys in the Red Guard, for they are sacrificing their lives for the rights of man, for equality and fraternity, and for the good of the coming generations." The paper gives as an excuse that the article was taken from a provincial paper! Such a defense of murderers who have assaulted sixteen unarmed prisoners, people who have never taken up arms against the Red Finns, speaks its own plain language.

The revolutionary tribunals excite the indignation of the Red Guard. Their sentences are absolutely too mild. As early as the 8th February, the General Staff express their dissatisfaction with this. On the 10th February the officers of the Guard have a meeting, and declare that the sentences passed by the tribunals are mere jokes — the Guard must intervene. "If the punishment of the butchers is not made more stringent," it is said among other things, "the number of prisoners will be greatly reduced, for then the men will begin to make use of self-redress."

The secretary of the revolutionary tribunal at Helsinki defends his institution in a newspaper paragraph on the 17th February. He says: "We do not intend to be lenient with the really guilty, but hitherto only very few such have been given to us. Do your best, you who know the really guilty. Prove their guilt, for without proof no one can be sentenced."

No, this was exactly where the difficulty was. Who was guilty, and how could his guilt be proved; this guilt which consisted in a "counter-revolutionary spirit," the refusal to support the Red, the fact of being a "bourgeois," or, on the whole, unsympathetic? No tribunal could cope with such things. Such things the Red Guard must try to manage by themselves.

There were, however, revolutionary tribunals that suited the Red better. An investigation they were obliged to carry out at the station town of Toijala in Tavastland may serve as an example. Hear, first, a

small incident as an instance of revolutionary idealism. A strict officer at the front had sent a Red Guardsman to this tribunal who had been in a state of excessive intoxication when the order was given to attack. The tribunal finds: "The court have not been able to look at the accused in the same light as our opponents, but are of opinion that as an enthusiastic fellow fighter he should remain at the front and, following an inner call, should there fight for liberty against our enemies."

Counsel for the prosecution at the tribunal at Toijala was a certain Tanner, a shoemaker, who had been liberated by the Red from the house of correction, where he had served three terms; the last time, for robbery and murder. At the disposal of the tribunal there was a "flying corps" led by one, Vuori, a tailor. The latter drove round with his troop, and arrested the employers in the neighborhood, took them away for "trial," but shot them on the way, and rifled the bodies. The number of his victims was not known, but Tanner, who was arrested and tried after the insurrection, confessed to having been the author of about thirty murders at which Vuori did service as executioner.

A peculiar reason makes the Red themselves commence an investigation of these outrages. A "White" railway guard, Soivio, living at Toijala, had been arrested, and was tried after he had been kept several days in prison. He is found not guilty, and is to be liberated, but the liberation is postponed until seven in the evening. The cause is that it is desired to await the approach of darkness. When it is going on for seven, Tanner gets uneasy, for Vuori has not appeared. He then asks two other soldiers to be so kind as to see to Soivio, "if Vuori is not in time." Soivio is to be taken home by sleigh, and shot on the way. At seven o'clock, however, when Soivio comes out with his little daughter by the hand — she had come to fetch him — there is a sleigh drawn up outside the gate. Vuori who has now come, and a comrade, invite Soivio to get into the sleigh. Soivio hesitates, but finally takes his seat with his daughter on his knee. But Vuori lifts the little one down again, muttering something about "trespassers not being allowed. Vuori sits beside Soivio, the other

Red man stands on the runners behind them. When they have driven for a while Vuori says to Soivio: "This is your last drive." Soivio makes no answer, though, according to Vuori's evidence, he grows "perceptibly nervous." When they pass Soivio's home, he asks permission to put a basket of provisions he has with him in the road, as a sign that he has passed. The Red do not permit it. They reach the outskirts of the forest, and here the murder is to be perpetrated. But by this time Soivio, too, has made up his mind. Suddenly he throws his arms 'round Vuori, and tries to throw him out of the sleigh. They wrestle for a while, but in the meanwhile he who is behind has got out his revolver. It is, however, out of order, and he must content himself with striking Soivio's head with the butt-end with all his might. Vuori has let go the reins, the horse bolts, and finally Vuori is in the snow. In no time his comrade is also thrown out and gone. Vuori has got up and shoots like one possessed. But Soivio is lying at the bottom of the sleigh, and the horse is in a panic. It races across fields and meadows, the sleigh is hurled across fences, but at last Soivio can jump out at the edge of the parsonage wood. He walks quietly back to his home.

This occurrence gives rise to an investigation on the 27th February. Vuori — but not Tanner — is considered to be so heavily compromised that on the 9th March he is brought before a tribunal of comrades. Here it transpires that every time he has shot a prisoner Vuori has gone up to the body, and cut off the head with his sword. He is in the habit of showing his bloody sword, and boasting of the many throats he has cut. Vuori, however, will not put up with standing in the pillory alone. He summons his immediate superiors, "the Staff" (to which also Tanner belonged) before the tribunal of comrades, and accuses them of having given him vague orders. The Staff have never said that prisoners should not be murdered; on the contrary, they have recommended him to do what he likes with them, and, they have added, "if you find a swamp, throw them into it." "Besides," says Vuori, "it was the general opinion in the Red Guard that we should not be able to get the better of our opponents if we did not kill them" The staff have done nothing to counteract this opinion.

The judicial proceedings are, of course, without result, but Vuori's statement is confirmed by an "impartial" witness.

A militiaman has been called to a village near Toijala by the relatives of one of the murdered men. He reports as follows:— "The murder has been committed by Vuori and his troop. On the telephone I gave an account of my investigation to the Staff of the Red Guard, and asked them to send on some men who could protect the population. But I got the reply that the matter does not concern the Staff, and that such cases need not be investigated. At the same time I learned that the Red Guardsmen considered it permissible to kill prisoners, and, according to my conception, this view has been supported by the Staff, as the latter has given Vuori continued authority to act as chief of the flying corps, although the Staff know very well about the murders committed — even from Vuori himself."

It cannot be denied that the Red Government's proclamations against deeds of violence and cruelties look very feeble and pale against a background of this sort. Why were such men as Vuori and Tanner not punished? Why was nothing done to counteract the "general opinion" in the Red Guard that prisoners could be murdered?

But we continue. The papers of the Red contain many proofs that the grossest criminals were allowed to go free.

In the Labor suburb Kottby, outside Helsinki, there was a flying corps whose chief was the butcher, Hjalmar Felin. His most trusted man was called Lilja. Already on the 2nd February Felin has murdered three persons, and on the 3rd February he murders a fourth — an organized workingman. From the murder he goes straight to the home of the dead man, and institutes a "house-search" On that occasion he stole a gold ring, but to the inquiry of the dead man's wife about what had become of the body of her husband, he gives no reply. (It was, as a rule, difficult to get the Red to hand over the bodies, for they were only unwillingly shown to the relatives, maimed and rifled as they were.)

Felin was, however, arrested on the 5th February, and his comrades examined. In like manner Lilja is taken into custody. Nothing transpires as regards Lilja during the inquest. Only a witness has seen him dragging an old man along the high road. Lilja had at last landed his man in a snow drift, and kicked him so long in the face till the heel of his boot had battered in his forehead. But this took place already during the general strike in November. As the matter may, therefore, be considered stale, Lilja is set free on the 12th February. Felin's case is worse. The examination of the witnesses which takes place in the Government Buildings — by whom conducted it is not stated — gives among other things the following result: "Felin's comrades have not taken part in the murders, but "if the murdered men were butchers they approve of the action." "At all house searches Felin has pocketed objects of value. A witness describes the following incident: The witness is walking along the high road and sees Felin conducting a man into the wood. Some shots are heard, and Felin comes out of the wood again. He says to the witness: "Now Traskman is shot" The witness: "But that was not Traskman at all. It was the old man we arrested already during the general strike, but who was set free again later on. Felin: "Indeed! Well, then, it was not Traskman, but anyway, it is all the same. It was always a novelty to this one to be shot."

Such a thing was not, however, considered a sufficient reason for sentencing Felin to imprisonment. On the 24th February Felin's comrades carry the following resolution by eighty-eight votes against nil.

"We, members of Kottby Red Guard, have every day read in the papers with what terrible brutality the citizens of Finland are fighting against us without shunning any means whatever. We therefore will not allow that our comrade is kept imprisoned in such times, owing to the information of private persons, with which crimes we, all men of the Guard, have not had occasion to make ourselves acquainted, then we demand that our comrade is at once set free, and sent to serve with his troop."

The style is, as will be seen, a little clumsy, but the intention is good enough. The minutes further contain a resolution that all the papers concerning the investigation against Felin are to be burnt. This, however, has not been done. At any rate, here we see what were the results of the tales about the cruelties of the White. On the 25th February the "leading commission" set Felin free. The papers of the Red yet contain many more proofs of the spirit of cruelty reigning among them. The Government received letters from the relatives of the murdered requesting investigation, and so an inquiry was often instituted. In reality, there was very little to investigate, for generally the writer already knew the names of the murderers. Nevertheless an inquest was held.

On the 3rd April a murder and robbery was investigated in the parish of Sibbo. The two murderers confess, but are not imprisoned. They only receive a warning not to absent themselves. On the 2nd April the perpetrators of the murder of an innkeeper in the parish of Mohla are brought to trial. They are two young Red Guardsmen. They seized the innkeeper in his home, and took him before the Staff. Here he was sentenced to death. They then seized him again, and were going to take him to the wood, but on the way he ran to a little house where some of his relatives lived. He begged and prayed the two to shoot him near the house, so that his body might remain with his people, but this could not be allowed. He was shot in the wood, his body rifled and thrown into the river. When the members of the Staff were examined, they explained that the innkeeper had been sentenced by them in their capacity of members of the "summary court-martial," because he was an eager adherent of the butchers. They had ordered him to be shot, but had not taken the trouble to ascertain whether or how the sentence was accomplished. The solemn abolition of capital punishment was not thus taken seriously by the tribunals themselves. In the parish of Stromfors the Red Guardsmen openly confess to having murdered and plundered two peasants. On the 22nd February a crofter's son has been murdered, and the body rifled and thrown into the river; also the home of the murdered man has been plundered. The murderer is known, "but could not be tried as he is at the front" In the parish of Mantsala

three cases of murder are investigated. One of the murdered persons has been shot, the other has had his head shattered, and the third has been strangled. The committee for the investigation report that, besides these three, about twenty persons in the same parish have been murdered. Among the murdered are also "neutrals." At Helsinki an ex-policeman has been shot. A witness communicates the names of the two murderers. To the question whether the murderers were acquaintances of the murdered man the witness replies: "No, they did not belong to his friends, but they had had to do with him before, for he had sometimes been obliged to take them into custody when on duty." The day after the murder one of the murderers had been to the mortuary to look at the dead body. "He only wanted to see where the bullet had gone in," he said. An ardent interest in the trade!

Finally, we shall here communicate one or two Red documents of another description, yet characteristic, too. On the 21st March an anonymous subordinate official in the hospital of the Red at Hyvinge writes to the procurator — "the supreme guardian of the laws." In the letter the murders in this part are very casually mentioned, though they were revolting enough. Eleven persons had been shot, among them a woman and four workingmen." The reason for this was a list that had been found containing the names of these eleven. It concerned the distribution of food, or something equally neutral. The eleven were, however, shot, and the Red Press stated that the murders had been committed "by mistake." The anonymous correspondent wishes to call the attention of the procurator to the fact that besides the murders, embezzlement, extortion, and the like has taken place, all of which, "if not directly criminal, is at least liable to cause disapproval." He wishes, however, to have an investigation started. It cannot be carried out by the local judges and "staffs," as they are all compromised. Therefore a special commission ought to be sent to the place, but in order to be able to accomplish anything it must be accompanied by an "armed command."

A militia constable at Helsinki reports as follows:—

> On the 5th February at ten in the evening he observed four Red Guardsmen taking a prisoner on to the ice at Hagnas Square. He went up to them, and asked them where they were taking the prisoner. They answered, "He has been sentenced." The militiaman asked them to show him the document. They declared that they had nothing to show, as the sentence had been passed orally from a passing motor car. The Red Guardsmen were angry, and declared that the whole matter did not concern the constable, that it was an "internal affair of the Red Guard." The constable was, no doubt, of the same opinion, but as a crowd had collected round them, he was obliged to keep to his interference, and demand that the four should take their prisoner to the "staff" in the People's House close by. Two of the four now went away with savage curses, the others obeyed the constable — ascribing it to the crowd — and the prisoner was conducted to the staff.

As more than one thousand murders have been committed, volumes might, of course, be filled with descriptions of the different variations of cruelty and brutality with which they were carried out. Often the murder is caused by an informer. This was the case when the manager of a commercial-school at Helsinki, Mr. Rosenquist, was arrested because his servant had seen some counter-revolutionary papers on his writing table, and murdered in the motor car on the way to the prison. The same is the case when an ex-policeman was shot because he was White. His wife had informed against him. Many examples of inhuman cruelty and sustained torture could be cited. A seventy-year-old clergyman is murdered with bayonets in his bed, and another clergyman is held fast while a Red Guardsman kicks him, and two other cut a cross in his naked breast, and rub salt into the wound. Some unfortunate people were buried alive in a swamp; on others the fingers were cut off to get at the rings before they were killed; one victim was boiled in a Russian camp kitchen, etc. There is evidence that outrages without number of this kind have been committed. This is confirmed by the inquests, as well as by the Red prisoners' own confessions. But in the statement above only such outrages have been included as have been mentioned by the

Red in their own documents. They give us the best idea of the insurgents' view of the crime.

From them it would seem safe to infer that the leaders did not evince any special energy in putting a stop to the savage epidemic of murder. This negligence on the part of the chiefs also forced all the better elements in the Guard to silence and subjection. For, of course, "better elements" were found. In many districts there were honest Red "staffs" who did no man harm. They only kept guard, and wrote passports and certificates of curious orthography. But, besides them, there were all these "flying corps," all these revolutionary tribunals and staffs, where liberated convicts and their like played the principal part. They took the lead. They showed how a real revolutionary ought to treat citizens and butchers. They drowned the scruples of their comrades by giving them stolen property, and letting them buy valuable objects cheap that had been taken from the bodies. Thus all the participants in the citation; thus one defended oneself against the cowards and timid persons. And when the murderers were allowed free play it became the general opinion that all who had not joined the Red movement were legitimate sport. Their homes might be plundered, their lives taken; they were butchers and the enemies of the people, no matter what position they filled in society.

However, it was not until defeat began to be obvious to all that the thefts, murders, and general ravages began with unequaled fury. The destruction of the last weeks can only be conceived as the work of mobs worked up into a state of frenzy. In the following these ravages will be briefly touched upon.

6. The Fall of the Red Power

By the peace with Germany Bolshevik Russia pledged to remove immediately both the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard Corps from Finland. This obligation was not, however, fulfilled. On the contrary, disorganized formations of Bolsheviks poured into Helsinki at the fall of Reval, and Russian officers continued as hitherto to direct the war operations of the Red. The decision of the peace treaty could thus only be carried through by force, and when the Government of Finland requested armed help from Germany, this request was complied with: Germany sent troops to Finland.

It would have been only natural if the Red had laid down their arms before such a prospect. General Mannerheim issued a proclamation to them adjuring them to give up their mad enterprise now that their defeat was unavoidable. But the leaders of the Red thought of no such thing. They would not, or perhaps they could not, stop the movement they had set going, and they did everything to conceal the serious condition of affairs from their adherents.

Tampere was taken by the White army. The Germans landed at Hanko and Loviisa — fell into the rear of the Red. But by incredibly false reports of the fighting the rebels' courage was kept up. It is significant that in the time from the 3rd to the 12th April, from the landing of the Germans to their entry into Helsinki, the Red Press without ceremony denied the presence of the German troops in the country. It is true that German uniforms had been seen, but they were worn by "disguised butchers."

The Russians and the leaders of the Red Finns, however, perceived very well what was now before them. The Baltic fleet was seized by a fever of activity, with the result that most of the ships succeeded in making their way out of the ice-bound harbor and disappearing towards the east. Less efficient vessels were scuttled or abandoned.

The leaders of the Red, however, prepared for flight to St. Petersburg.

It is perhaps the most offensive trait in these demagogues that in the hour of destruction they went on rousing their militiamen against a superior foe while they themselves ran away, after having filled their pockets with millions of the notes of the Bank of Finland. On the 8th April the Red Government fled Helsinki. But the last number of their official organ for that day contains another appeal from the great "Central Council," which deserves to be cited here on account of its characteristic contents. It runs as follows:—

> Comrades,
>
> "For more than two months the Finnish workingman has fought with ardent enthusiasm against his blood-thirsty extortionists. During this time he has doggedly defended the great common cause of the workingmen. When the Central Council of the workingmen and the Commissioners of the People by the will of the People took over the affairs of the country, they were perfectly rotten. We have been obliged to work day and night in order to remedy these scandalous, perverse conditions, while at the same time our comrades have fought against the brutish foe, who by falsehood and violence has gathered his forces from all the four corners of the world. In the bloodthirsty ranks of the White army it can be proved that, besides these enemies of the people, who call themselves Finns, there are also, among others, the first executioners of Nicholas the Bloody, there are officers of Lavr Kornilov's, there are riflemen who have gone through a school of murder in Germany during the world war, there are morally corrupt ruffians who have been bought with much money and big promises of good offices in Germany and Sweden. Even some Chinamen have been found in their ranks, people whom the bourgeoisie have hitherto profoundly despised. Ex-senators and other Mannerheimers have bargained about the independence of our country, both with Sweden and Germany. None of these countries have openly

ventured to declare war against the People of Finland, but still each of them has unofficially helped the butchers. In doing this they have, in fact, joined Finland's capitalists in their war against Finland's Labor population. All the time the Red army of the workingmen has been obliged to fight against a guard superior in numbers. As yet our opponent has not succeeded in crushing our revolutionary army, which insists on its right, with his foreign handy-men trained in the school of murder; he has spread about all sorts of provocative tales, inter alia about German forces having landed either upon Åland, or Turku Skerry, or — as now lately — at Hanko. When the actual course of events has been cleared up, these tales have always proved to be hugely and deliberately exaggerated. So much is true that the White, protected by the German name, have plundered and murdered unarmed, peaceful workingmen in the said districts. The Germans, these the great provocateurs of the world war, are loathed by everybody, and therefore the White are trying by the aid of the terror of the Germans to paralyses the soldiers of our Red revolutionary army, as they are not able to defeat them in any other way.

"Working-men! Revolutionary soldiers! We must not let the terror of the Germans damp our revolutionary courage. We know, certainly, that they are clever at their trade of war. But hitherto the Germans have not to our certain knowledge engaged with the forces of the Red Guard in close formation. And we imagine that the imperialist government of Germany hesitates to embark on such an enterprise, for the workingmen of Germany will not, it is presumed, silently permit this to happen, as their representatives have already before raised their voices against the armed excursion of their government to Åland.

"Comrades! Working-men! All that are found in the ranks of the White Guard must be treated as the enemies of the people, whatever nationality they belong to. The revolutionary workingman does not even turn aside from a German,

professional murderer, for he knows that he is fighting for liberty and right.

"You Finnish Working-man, for centuries your race has been tried; you have been forced to suffer great hardship. Your fame has gone round the world, although you have lived in the slavery of capitalism. You are just now under the eye of the proletariat of the whole world. Column upon column is written daily about your stubbornness, your strong fight. About you, who have only a couple of months ago shaken off your fetters. It is you who have made an independent republic of Finland. It is also your duty to defend the existence of this republic. And it is worth defending. Never before has this barren Finland been so dear to us as now. The Labor population of Finland have cleared the land, plowed up its soil; they want to taste the fruit of their work, too. That is the aim of the Finnish laborer's revolution. In this country no Swedish or German capitalists must be allowed to rule. The affairs of this country must be managed by the majority of the Labor population. Therefore, to arms for our country, every Finnish workingman! Forward, revolutionary soldiers! Defeat will be the same as the doom of our country, and the slavery of the Labor Class. To arms, then, workingman, rise against the plunderers! Would that every man and woman would do their duty, and our victory would be certain. Not only victory to the armed rising of the Finnish laborers, but to the revolutionary fight of the proletariat in all countries.

May the victorious revolution of the Finnish Labor Class prosper!

May the International Revolution prosper!

This document must be designated as a monument to the Finnish Labor movement. A curious mixture of falsehood, calumny, and a distorted view, absurd tirades against the "enemy," and a collection of arguments that are staggering in their variety. Here are flaunted both internationalism and nationalism, patriotism, class-war, democracy and revolution. Here the never varying character of the Labor movement is glaringly on display. It drew its nourishment from

any source whatever, provided only the result was hatred of those in power. The great falsehood, on which the whole appeal is based, the fact that it was issued at the very moment when the leaders fled, is not the least characteristic feature. The Finnish Labor Party never had leaders with resolve, commitment or character.

It was, of course, impossible in the long run to keep up the illusion about the victorious revolution. The retreat was begun. A difficult retreat, during which as much plundering, murder, and incendiarism as possible was carried out. At Björneborg, Raumo, and Turku all the steamers in the harbors were scuttled, railway engines and bridges were blown up with dynamite, all safes which had not yet been burgled were broken into, all the money found in the customs and post offices and at the railway stations was stolen. The supply of stamps and receipt-stamps was appropriated, the food supplies were either carried away, burned or fouled with petroleum, shops were looted; even the tables at the telephone exchanges were smashed with sledgehammers.

In the rural districts there were still worse doings. Here there were not so many valuable plants that could be destroyed, so instead the farms were plundered and burnt. How complete was the destruction is seen, among other things, from the following list of burnt and destroyed property in the little municipality of Vesilaks, south of Tampere. The Red burnt down 149 dwelling-houses and 355 outbuildings, and they took away with them 89 horses, 688 cows, 353 sheep, 67 pigs, 400 his. of rye, 278 his. of barley, 2,800 his. of oats, 66 his. of beans, 830 his. of potatoes, and 27 his. of wheat. In other words, in this municipality there was nothing but the bare ground left. The farmers were plundered of the little they possessed of objects of value. The Red at Vyborg, on the 21st April, gave a receipt for having received from their troops at the north front of objects: 33kgms of silver, 47 of plate, 857 of copper, 126 of brass, etc.

Of course, these robberies were for the most part only the outcome of a blind lust of destruction and plunder. For many of the Red left a

wife and children or parents and other relatives in the devastated land. There was, however, a certain sense in transporting as much valuable property as possible into Soviet Russia. Lots of engines and railway carriages landed there; machines and supplies from the factories were taken there; a number of typewriting machines, etc., were on their way there; as much as could be taken of food supplies was dragged there. For it was the intention to found a Red Finnish colony in Russia, and there await the world revolution which would also return Finland to the Red.

The immense material harm the Red did to their country may be made good in the course of years. It is more tragic that the population in the parts occupied longest by the Red had to undergo the greatest sufferings. When the retreat became unavoidable, many were murdered who had hitherto been spared, and the forced mobilization was now accomplished by dragging along a great number of prisoners, putting them into the ranks or shooting them on occasion. It was dependent on a mere chance what destiny was in store for the prisoners. This is seen, e.g., by the various measures taken with regard to the pupils of Mustiala Agricultural College in Tavastland. Thirteen were taken by the Red already in February. Nine have undoubtedly fallen, or been murdered, four have disappeared without trace. In April 32 pupils were arrested. Out of these, three landed at the Red fronts. They were put into their ranks. Two have returned. The third has disappeared. The 29 pupils left were taken south by train on the 20th April, but were assaulted in the train by their guards. Twenty of them were killed in this massacre. Five succeeded in jumping off the train and escaping. They were saved. Four of them were separated from their comrades, landed in a prison, and were also saved.

Part of the men forced to mobilize in Tavastland were taken to the railway station at Riihimaki, and as they refused to carry arms, they were locked up in the Russian barracks there. But Riihimaki was soon on the eve of surrender, and rather than let these imprisoned Tavastland peasants fall into the hands of the liberators, the Red tried to murder them. They — and this time it was not Red men, but

armed women — placed themselves at the doors and began to fire random shots among the prisoners. The latter rushed about in their terror, were hit and fell. The result was twelve killed, and eight or ten wounded.

The upper staff at Valkiakoski Paper Factory in Tavastland were conducted to forced labor by the Red on the 15th April. Already on the way to the place of work two were shot, a cashier and a clerk, both over fifty years of age. On the 20th April another two were selected, taken away, and shot. On the 24th ten at a time were conducted to the wood. They were walking along a path when their Red custodians, who were walking behind them, suddenly began to shoot. The prisoner in front, a clergyman, succeeded in escaping; the nine others were killed. Now there were only six prisoners left. They had heard the reports from the wood, and understood what they meant. They did not have to wait long for their doom. Later in the day they were taken into the wood, where they were shot. However, from this group also one man succeeded in escaping. All the bodies of the murdered men, who were in part atrociously mutilated, were plundered.

The murders had been committed at the order of the "Staff." This latter now caused bottles of petroleum to be distributed among their men. After three more murders on peasants the neighboring village was set fire to, and its twenty-two farms soon formed one sheet of fire. Now the enemy might come if he liked!

At Vyborg prison a tragedy similar to that at Riihimaki was enacted, only with the difference that here the Red did not fire among the prisoners, but threw hand-grenades among them. The effect was terrible, a number of killed and wounded, and an unspeakable terror among the survivors.

Finally, only a few words about the great execution ground the Red established at the station of Kouvola, near Kymmene river. To this place prisoners were conducted from the whole river valley, from the cities of Frederikshamn and Kotka, from the big factories by the river, Karhula, Kymmene, Voikka. and Kuusankoski. The Red themselves

thought they had executed about 400 persons here. More than 200 dead bodies have been found either hidden in a swamp or thrown in the river. But many have been carried away by the current, and will never be found.

Among those murdered in this place was also the director of Finland's largest industrial plant, Kymmene Works, Gosta Bjorkenheim. He had not only been an able manufacturer, but he was also a humane man and a benefactor to his workmen. He had tried to make Kymmene factory town into a model place according to the most advanced social principles. Though his own workmen took his life, he was not the victim of personal hatred or private vindictiveness, but of the system. He was a capitalist, therefore he had to go.

During the whole of the insurrection Bjorkenheim had been kept confined in his villa. A representative of the Swedish Red Cross lived with him to protect his life. But one day he was taken by the Red, and he refused the Swede's offer of accompanying him. Instead he was accompanied by a young physician, who was very popular among the Red Finns, because he had successfully nursed their wounded. The prisoners and their custodians reached the bridge across Kymmene river. Reports were heard, and the two fell down dead. They were stripped of all their clothes and thrown into the river. The clothes were sold by auction later on.

Such was the downfall of the Red power. Only the leaders and a few others succeeded in escaping to Russia. More than 70,000 people remained as prisoners in the hands of the victors. Among the prisoners, virtually all who had filled posts of trust carried lots of bank notes and valuable objects on their persons. But also on privates and women enormous sums were found. Two hundred thousand marks, sewn into the clothes of a prisoner, was no special rarity.

7. Postscript

Compared with the stupendous spectacle of the world war, the insurrection in Finland is only a trifling incident. In the great drama of the "Break-up of Russia" the events in Finland constitute only a small scene. But to the people of Finland the war of liberation shaped itself as the mightiest struggle in the ancient conflict carried on in this county between West and East, between culture and barbarism.

The Finnish Labor Party called themselves Social Democrats. But by their actions they have shown that they were not worthy of the name. Labor party leaders misled the young, most unformed and politically naive workers, and to the thirst for liberty which the Russian oppression had called to life in the whole people. Marxist demagogues drew their weapons for this agitation from all the arsenals open to them. Social-Democratic phraseology, Syndicalism, Russian Nihilism, and Red Terrorism all run into one, in their propaganda as well as in their acts. In such circumstances they could not, of course, find any consistent political policy or ideally secure way through parliamentary life. They tried for a time to keep within the bounds of a parliamentary party, but failed to do so, and did not thrive within them, although the possibilities of success were greater in Finland's parliament than in any other. Prodded to action, workers took up arms and resorted to revolution. But even then, when they thought they were following the revolutionary roads marked out by the Russian Bolsheviks, they could not act consistently. The revolution was absurd in itself without an economic revolution, but the economic revolution was not feasible. So there they were, power being the only goal they were able to perceive. And when defeat loomed threateningly, they were equally at a loss. Party leaders stirred up their own people against a superior foe, and they themselves fled to St. Petersburg.

Was then the war of the White a war against the Social Democrats? No, for the Red did not represent the Social Democrats. Was the civil

war a class war? Yes, and no. Yes, because the Red Guard was in a manner a class army. No, because the White did not fight the Labor Class as such. The Red Guard was to a certain extent the cuckoo's brood in the nest of the Labor Party. It grew strong within the organizations, attracted all the bad elements, and also swallowed up the better ones. It was the bearer of the Russo-revolutionary traditions of the years 1905-6. It had become intoxicated with the March revolution of 1917. It therefore easily slipped into Bolshevism. When later on it became the determining factor within the Party, it got the additional power over its members — then close upon 200,000 organized workingmen. It sacrificed them as unscrupulously as all others. Thus the Labor Party, and with them virtually the whole Labor Class, were drawn into the Red movement. In this sense we may speak of "class war," but not in the sense in which the word is generally used. For this movement was not social but political. It was not a conflict between proletariat and bourgeoisie. It was a struggle for the power on the part of the Red, a struggle for Finland's independence, for law and order on the part of the White. It was a war between the international Communist movement to which Finland and its people and communities meant nothing.

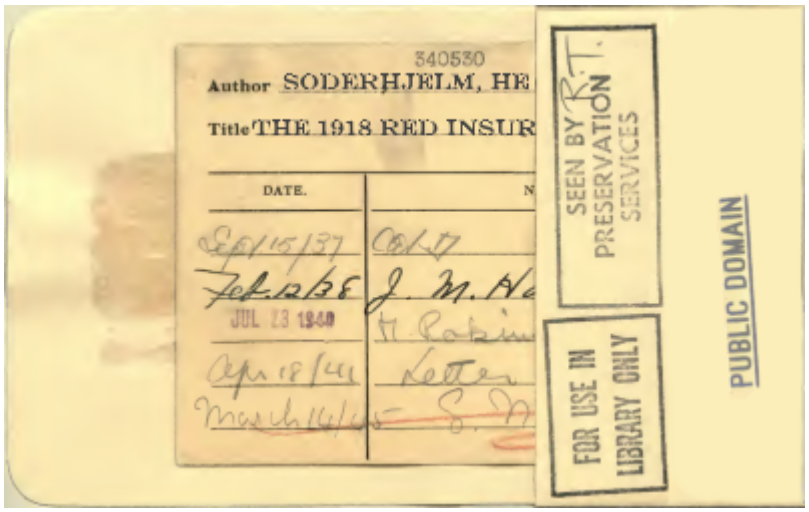
The Red threatened everything that the Finnish people had learned to treasure as its greatest values during the long struggle against Russian oppression, whether it was practiced in the name of Tsarism or Anarchy. These values may be comprehended in the words "Western culture." The Red Finns, the workingmen, had been led astray, if you will — infected is, perhaps, the better word. They were infected with the Russian plague now called Bolshevism. Lawlessness, disorder, want of reverence for all cultural values, contempt of the life, happiness and property of their fellow-men had seized them, and dragged them down into chaos.

But as yet the country has not recovered after the catastrophe which has shaken it to its foundations. As yet there is infinite work left to be done. An independent political life is to be built up with respect for the law and the subjection of the individual to the demands of the community. The problems are many, the difficulties great. Mistakes

must be made, reverses must come. But the foundation has been laid. Finland has been liberated from Tsarist and Bolshevik oppression.

Every people, be it as small and weak as it may be, clings to the thought that it has its special mission in the history of the world. Finland has seen her mission in that she has stood as the outpost of Europe in the East. She has received the blows directed against Scandinavia. Now she has warded off, perhaps, the most dangerous, at least the most treacherous, attack of the East. She does not count on gratitude for this deed, but she counts on sympathy. No person in Finland is glad at the misery the Red insurrection has called down on the Labor Class. Nobody sees a triumph of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in the victory of the White. The victory in one respect is of mighty, of positive, significance in that the Leninist-Bolshevik influence has now been beaten down. And to build up the new, independent Finland it is needful that this influence shall be wiped out for ever; just as it is needful that every citizen learns to obey the law, and consider himself as a member of the community. That is the condition of Finland's becoming a real Nation — a Western culture state and law state.

Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim



End

Table of Contents

- Table of Contents
  - Foreword
  - The Concise Chronology
  - Acknowledgements
  - Maps
  - Photos
  - Introduction
- The Prelude
  - 1. The Historical Background
    - 2. From the Outbreak of the War to the Russian Revolution
    - 3. The March Revolution in Russia and the Position of Finland
    - 4. Occurrences of the Autumn and Winter
- The Insurrection
  - 1. Red And White: General Characteristics
  - 2. The Outbreak of the Insurrection
  - 3. The Red Army
  - 4. The Leadership of the Red
  - 5. The Red and Their Opponents
  - 6. The Fall of the Red Power
  - 7. Postscript
- End